Dionysos in Archaic Greece

Religions in the Graeco-Roman World

Editors

H.S. Versnel
D. Frankfurter
J. Hahn

VOLUME 160

Dionysos in Archaic Greece

An Understanding through Images

by
Cornelia Isler-Kerényi

Translated by
Wilfred G.E. Watson

BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2007

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Isler-Kerényi, Cornelia.
[Dionysos nella Grecia arcaica. English]
Dionysos in archaic Greece : an understanding through images / by Cornelia Isler-Kerényi.
p. cm. — (Religions in the Graeco-Roman world, ISSN 0927–7633 ; v. 160)
Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.
ISBN-13: 978-90-04-14445-3
ISBN-10: 90-04-14445-5 (hardback)
1. Vase-painting, Greek—Themes, motives. 2. Vases, Black-figured—Greece—Themes, motives. 3. Dionysus (Greek deity)—Art. I. Title.

NK4648.I8313 2007
738.3'820938—dc22

2006049191

ISSN 0927-7633
ISBN 90 04 14445 5

Original title: Dionysos nella Grecia arcaica: Il contributo delle immagini.
© Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali (IEPI), Pisa, Roma, Italy.
English translation © 2007 Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden,
The Netherlands. Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

List of Figures ix
Preface xvii
Abbreviations xix

Introduction 1

Chapter One. *An iconography in process* 5
An image of Dionysos from the 7th century BCE 6
Characters of the Dionysian circle before 600 BCE 8
Dionysian characters in the animal frieze 10
Conclusion 14

Chapter Two. *Turning into a satyr: Small vases from the first half of the 6th century BCE* 17
Corinthian unguent vases 18
A Corinthian mule-rider 24
Middle Corinthian symposium vases 27
Attic Komast cups 30
Grotesque dancers from Boeotia 34
Attic Siana cups 40
The C Painter 41
The Heidelberg Painter 43
Other Siana cups and a contemporary skyphos 48
Laconian cups with Dionysian images 52
Dionysian subjects in Ionian pottery 57
Conclusion 59

Chapter Three. *Dionysos and the gods: Dinoi and kraters from the first half of the 6th century BCE* 65
Early dancers and satyrs 66
Dionysos on the dinos by Sophilos 69
Dionysos on the François krater 75
The procession of the gods 75
The return of Hephaistos 80
The pursuit of Troilos 83
The frieze with the mule-rider 92
Hephaistos 99

Other Attic dinoi and kraters 92
Corinthian kraters 99
Laconian symposium vases 101
Ionian dinoi 102
Conclusion 102

Chapter Four. *The thiasos of Dionysos: Amphorae and similar vases of the 6th century* BCE 107
The thiasos and the female companions of Dionysos 110
Prototypical women 110
The mother of twins 117
Ariadne? 121
Dionysian amphorae by Lydos 125
Dionysian amphorae by the Amasis Painter 130
Dionysian dances 133
Dionysos among ephebes 136
Contemporaries of the Amasis Painter 144
The Swing Painter 144
The Affecter 146
Tyrrhenian amphorae 148
Conclusion 153

Chapter Five. *Dionysian happiness: Cups and other small vases from the second half of the 6th century* BCE 159
Little Masters cups 159
The cup by the Kallis Painter and its forerunners 163
The eye cup by Exekias 171
The eyes 172
The battle 176
The inside of Exekias' cup 180
Dolphins, ships and the sea 182
The vine 183
Dionysos 186
Cups by the Amasis Painter 187
Phallic kylikes 190
Figured aryballoi 199
Attic mastoi 199
Head-kantharoi and Ionian Little Master cups 200
Chalcidian eye cups 202
Conclusion 206

Chapter Six. *Dionysos in archaic Greek art: a summary* 209
A note on methodology 209
Dionysian iconography from the late 7th century to about 500 BCE 211
Iconography and history 217
Dionysian iconography in the first half of the 5th century BCE 223
Dionysian figurations in archaic Greek sculpture 225
Conclusion: Dionysos reconsidered 231

Chapter Seven. *Modern mythologies: "Dionysos" versus "Apollo"* 233
Friedrich Nietzsche 233
Apollo and Dionysos in German Classical scholarship before Nietzsche 238
Apollo and Dionysos in Classical scholarship after Nietzsche 244
Apollo and Dionysos today 253

Works cited 257

Index
Museums 267
Vases following Beazley 274
Vases and other works following LIMC 277
Names 279
General 283
Modern authors 289

Figures

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Cycladic krater. Melos, Archaeological Museum (JHS 22, 1902, 69 fig. 1).
2. Cycladic krater. Melos, Archaeological Museum (JHS 22, 1902, pl. V).
3. Fragment of a geometric vase from Miletus (IM 9/10, 1959/60 þ . θ .2).
4. Protoattic krater. Formerly Berlin 31573 (A 32) (Photograph of the museum).
5. Protoattic krater. Formerly Berlin 31573 (A 32) (Photograph of the museum).
6. Protoattic amphora. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 11.210.1. Rogers Fund, 1911 (Photograph of the museum).
7. Protocorinthian aryballos. Brindisi 1669 (Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia 1964, 121 fig. 3).
8. Protocorinthian alabastron. Private coll. (Isler-Kerényi 1988, 273 fig. 3).
9. Fragment of a dinos from Vari. Athens. (AE 1970, 94).
10. Corinthian aryballos. Zürich, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 3505 (Photograph of the museum, Silvia Hertig).
11. Corinthian aryballos. Zürich, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 3505 (Photograph of the museum, Silvia Hertig).
12. Corinthian aryballos. Zürich, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 3505 (CV Zürich 1, Beil.13.1).
13. Corinthian amphoriskos. Athens, National Museum 664 (AM 19, 1894 pl. VIII)
14. Oversized Corinthian aryballos. Würzburg, M.v.Wagner Museum der Universität L 100 (Photograph of the museum).
15. Oversized Corinthian aryballos. Würzburg, M.v.Wagner Museum der Universität L 100 (Photograph of the museum).
16. Corinthian aryballos. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 4509 (Photograph of the museum).
17. Corinthian aryballos. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 4509 (Photograph of the museum).
18. Komast cup. Private collection, Switzerland. (Photograph Archäologische Sammlung der Universität, Silvia Hertig)

19. Siana cup. Göttingen, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 549a (J.11) (Photograph of the museum, Stephan Eckardt).
20. Siana cup. Göttingen, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 549a (J.11) (Photograph of the museum, Stephan Eckardt).
21. Boeotian tripod-pyxis. Dallas 1981, 170 (White Muscarella 1974, no. 53).
22. Boeotian tripod-pyxis. Athens, National Museum 938 (Photograph of the museum).
23. Boeotian kantharos. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 6010 (419) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. K 1038).
24. Boeotian kantharos. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 6010 (419) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. K 09 .
25. Boeotian kantharos. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 6010 (419) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. K 03) .
26. Trick-vase. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 3366 (Photograph of the museum, Jutta Tietz Glagow).
27. Medallion of a Siana cup. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 7739 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. 1).
28. Medallion of a Siana cup. Paris, Louvre CA 576 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
29. Siana cup. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen 5179 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. CV 250).
30. Siana cup. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen 5179 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. D 2074).
31. Merrythought cup. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 3151 (Photograph of the museum, Ingrid Geske).
32. Laconian cup from Lavinium (Castagnoli 1975, 365).
33. Dinos. Athens, Agora P 334 (Photograph Agora Excavations, Gerasim Plaka).
34. Dinos. Athens, Agora P 334 (Photograph Agora Excavations, Gerasim Plaka).
35. Belly lekythos. Buffalo (NY), Albright-Knox Art Gallery G 600, Charles W. Goodyear Fund, 1933 (Photograph of the museum).
36. Belly lekythos. Buffalo (NY), Albright-Knox Art Gallery G 600, Charles W. Goodyear Fund, 1933 (Photograph of the museum).
37. Fragment of a dinos (?) (Atlantis Antiquities 1988, 55 fig. 3 .
38. Dinos by Sophilos. London, British Museum 1971. 11–1.1 (Photograph of the museum).

39. Dinos by Sophilos. London, British Museum 1971. 11–1.1 (Photograph of the museum).
40. Dinos by Sophilos. London, British Museum 1971. 11–1.1 (Photograph of the museum).
41. François krater, procession of the gods. Florence, Museo archeologico 4209 (FR pl. 1–2).
42. François krater, friezes of Troilos and Hephaistos. Florence, Museo archeologico 4209 (FR pl. 11–12).
43. Fragment of a Corinthian krater from Flious (Hesperia 40, 1971,).
44. Amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1447 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. 2926).
45. Amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1447 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. 2925).
46. Amphora. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig L 21 (Photograph of the museum, Claire Niggli).
47. Amphora. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen 7068 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. CV 279).
48. Amphora. Paris, Louvre F 32 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
49. Amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1394 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. WK 7761).
50. Amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1394 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 7760).
51. Amphora. Paris, Louvre F 3 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
52. Amphora. Paris, Louvre F 3 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
53. Amphora. Paris, Louvre F 36 bis (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
54. Amphora. Paris, Louvre F 204 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
55. Amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1513 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 3116).
56. Amphora. Paris, Louvre F 5 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
57. Amphora. Paris, Louvre F 5 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
58. Amphora. Boston, Mueum of Fine Arts 76.40. Gift of Thomas G. Appleton (Photograph of the museum).

59. Amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1527 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 7262).
60. Amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1527 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 7264).
60a. Amphora. Tarquinia RC 2449 (Photograph Soprintendenza Archeologica Etruria Meridionale Neg. n. 496).
60b. Amphora. Vatican 359 (Photograph of the museum Neg. N. XXXIV.28.24/7).
60c. Amphora. Paris, Louvre F 226 (Photograph of the museum, cliché M. et P. Chuzeville).
61. Amphora by Lydos. Paris, Louvre Cp 10634 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
62. Amphora by Lydos. Florence, Museo archeologico 70995 (Photograph of the museum).
63. Refresher-amphora by Lydos. London, British Museum 1848.6–19.5 (da Tiverios 1976 pl. 52a).
64. Amphora near Lydos. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig BS 424 (Photograph of the museum, D. Widmer).
65. Refresher-oinochoe by Kolchos and Lydos. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 1732 (Photograph of the museum, Ingrid Geske).
66. Refresher-oinochoe by Kolchos and Lydos. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 1732 (Photograph of the museum, Ingrid Geske).
67. Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig Kä 420 (Photograph of the museum, Claire Niggli).
68. Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig Kä 420 (Photograph of the museum, Claire Niggli).
69. Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Formerly Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 3210 (Photograph of the museum).
70. Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 222 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché Bibl. Nat. de France, Paris).
71. Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 222 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché Bibl. Nat. de France, Paris).
72. Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8026. Henry Lillie Pierce Fund (Photograph of the museum).

73. Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Vatican, Guglielmi coll. 39518 (Foto Musei Vaticani).
74. Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 8763 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 2036).
75. Amphora by Exekias. London, British Museum 1836.2–24.127 (Photograph of the museum).
76. Amphora by the Swing Painter. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1877 (Photograph of the museum).
77. Amphora by the Swing Painter. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1877 (Photograph of the museum).
78. Amphora by the Swing Painter. Paris, Louvre F 227 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
79. Amphora by the Swing Painter. Louvre F 227 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
80. Amphora by the Affecter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8053 (Photograph of the museum).
81. Amphora by the Affecter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8053. Henry Lillie Pierce Fund (Photograph of the museum).
82. Amphora by the Affecter. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 18.145.15, Rogers Fund 1918 (Photograph of the museum).
83. Amphora by the Affecter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8052. Henry Lillie Pierce Fund (Photograph of the museum).
84. Amphora by the Affecter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8052. Henry Lillie Pierce Fund (Photograph of the museum).
85. Amphora by the Affecter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8052. Henry Lillie Pierce Fund (Photograph of the museum).
86. Tyrrhenian amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1431 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 2212).
87. Tyrrhenian amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1431 (Photograph of the museum).
88. Tyrrhenian amphora. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen Chr. VIII (323) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. D 868).
89. Tyrrhenian amphora. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen Chr. VIII (323) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. D 867).
90. Tyrrhenian amphora. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen Chr. VIII (323) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. D 866).
91. Tyrrhenian amphora. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen Chr. VIII (323) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. D 865).

92. Tyrrhenian amphora. Paris, Louvre E 860 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
93. Tyrrhenian amphora. Paris, Louvre E 860 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
94. Tyrrhenian amphora. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz F 1704 (Photograph of the museum, Ingrid Geske).
95. Amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1562 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 2898).
96. Little Master cup. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2170 (Photograph of the museum).
97. Little Master cup. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2212 (Photograph of the museum).
98. Little Master cup. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 7414 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 1).
99. Little Master cup. London, British Museum B 425 (Hamdorf 1986, 83 fig. 5).
100. Little Master cup. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig Lu 18 (Photograph of the museum, Claire Niggli).
101. Little Master cup. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig Lu 18 (Photograph of the museum, Claire Niggli).
102. Cup by the Kallis Painter. Naples, Museo archeologico Stg. 172 (Photograph of the museum).
103. Cup by the Kallis Painter. Naples, Museo archeologico Stg. 172 (Photograph of the museum).
104. Cup by Exekias. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 8729 (2044) (Photograph of the museum).
105. Cup by Exekias. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 8729 (2044) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. W 4 .
106. Cup by Exekias. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 8729 (2044) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. 2019).
107. Cup by Exekias. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 8729 (2044) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 208 .
108. Eye cup. Paris, Louvre F 130 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
109. Eye cup. Paris, Louvre F 130 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
110. Eye cup. Paris, Louvre F 130 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).

111. Cup. Paris, Paris, Louvre F 145 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
112. Cup. Paris, Paris, Louvre F 145 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
113. Siana Cup. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia 64608 (Photograph of the museum).
114. Eye cup. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia 773 (Photograph of the museum).
115. Eye cup. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia 773 (Photograph of the museum).
116. Cup by the Amasis Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.651. Gift of Edward Perry Warren (Photograph of the museum).
117. Cup by the Amasis Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.651. Gift of Edward Perry Warren (Photograph of the museum).
118. Phallic Cup. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz F 2052 (Photograph of the museum).
119. Phallic Cup. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz F 2052 (Photograph of the museum).
120. Phallic Cup. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz F 2052 (Photograph of the museum).
121. Aryballos by the Amasis Painter. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 62.11.11. Rogers Fund, 1962 (Photograph of the museum).
122. Aryballos by Nearchos. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.49 Purchase, The Cesnola Collection, by exchange, 1926 (Photograph of the museum).
123. Aryballos by Nearchos. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.49. Purchase, The Cesnola Collection, by exchange, 1926 (AJA 36, 1932, pl. XIc).
124. Mastos. Würzburg, Martin v. Wagner Museum der Universität L 391 (Photograph of the museum).
125. Ionian head-kantharos. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2014 (Photograph of the museum).
126. Ionian head-kantharos. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2014 (Photograph of the museum).
127. Chalcidian eye cup. Paris, Louvre F 144 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).
128. Fragment of a pediment in Corfu (Boardman 1978, fig. 207a).
129. Unfinished statue of Dionysos in Naxos (Gruben 1997, 296 fig. 6).

130. Fragment of a pediment in Athens (Heberdey 1919, 76 fig. 3 .
3 Polos of the caryatid of the Siphnian treasury in Delphi (Themelis 1992, 57 fig. 5).
132. Relief showing a satyr in Thasos (Picard 1962, pl. XIII).
133. Hero relief from Sparta. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 731 (Photograph of the museum).

PREFACE

I am grateful to the many people and institutions mentioned in the preamble to the Italian text of 2001 for the publication of this book, which presents the results of a study begun about twenty years ago. Once again, I express my gratitude to those in charge of the various museums who kindly provided me with the material for the illustrations and allowed me to reproduce them again. I am also indebted to the Archaeological Institute of the University of Zurich and its photographic service.

As there are so many notes, I have tried to make them as concise as possible. For the locations of the pieces quoted, only the place-name is given when the museum is evident: Athens means the National Archaeological Museum and London the British Museum. Here, Copenhagen means the National Museum. Instead of Paris, only the Louvre or the Cabinet des Médailles in the National Library is mentioned. For Rome, the museums are named in abbreviated form, while the Vatican is separate. However, the names of museums appear in full in the list of figures. The same principle applies to the citations from Beazley's lists of Attic vases. By means of the Addenda of 1989, which is the most recent, it is easy to refer back to earlier references, as indicated by the numbers in brackets. Paralipomena, ABV and ARV are mentioned only when the vases have not been repeated in later lists. Only objects in LIMC listed in the articles that refer to Dionysian characters (Dionysos, Silenos, Mainas, Semele, Ariadne, Hephaistos) and illustrated in the corresponding second volume have been systematically included in the notes.

Thanks are due to Bruno Gentili for accepting the original version of this study in one of his prestigious series, published in Urbino, and to Henk Versnel for accepting the English version for the renowned series *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* and for his support in the difficult work of revising the text on its way to its final form. The present English version displays some changes as compared to its Italian predecessor. Besides corrections and some unsystematic updating of the bibliography, there are additional subdivisions in almost all the chapters. The section on the mothers of twins in Chapter 4 has been modified slightly and three figures (60a–c) have

been inserted. A brief survey of the history of Dionysian studies, published in 2001[1], has been added as chapter 7 of the volume. This addition will help to explain, I hope, why the image of Dionysos, which has emerged from the history of these studies and is by now widely known, is in fact very unlike the one presented by the vase painters of ancient Greece.

Finally, it would be strange if I failed to explain how this book compares with the well-known "Dionysos" by my father, Karl Kerényi, first published in 1976. When he died in 1973, he left a finished manuscript, but my mother, my husband and I had to check the notes, prepare the book for the press, read the proofs, etc. While processing his book, which makes more references to works of ancient art than similar studies, I became even more acutely aware of the lack of a systematic collection of such material based on archaeological criteria. Unlike an archaeologist, a student of ancient religions tends to have a comprehensive, anthropological vision and a deep interpretation of religion. The archaeologist, instead, proceeds chronologically and in stages, as far as possible taking account of all the data linking an archaeological object with the life of its makers and users. This is why the results of the two books are different up to a point, but on careful reflection, not incompatible. I certainly think that Dionysos acted at moments of transition, with existence "suspended" between two states or stages of life. Yet deep down he was also considered to be a god of indestructible life, guaranteeing, beyond the phases of every being, beyond the life and death of the individual, the unity of the individual and the continuation of the species.

I would like to conclude by expressing my heartfelt gratitude to my husband and our children who made it possible for me to devote myself, often quite intensively, to my assigned task. As always happens, it has turned out to be longer and more difficult than anticipated. Without their support and their understanding, this book would never have been completed.

Erlenbach (Zurich), 2005 November C. I.-K.

---

[1] Mitologie del moderno: "apollineo" e "dionisiaco", in S. Settis (ed.), I Greci. Storia cultura arte società III. I Greci oltre la Grecia. Torino 2001, 1397–1417.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AnnPisa	Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa
ActaA	Acta Archaeologica
AE	Archaiologiké Ephemeris
AION	Annali di archeologia e storia antica dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale Napl i
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AntK	Antike Kunst
BaBesch	Bulletin Antieke Beschaving. Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology
BCH	Bulletin de correspondence hellénique
CV	Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
EAA	Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale. Roma
FR	A. Furtwängler/K. Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei, München 1904–1932
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
IM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäol. Instituts, Abteilung Istanbul
JdI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
KdS	Vierneisel/Kaeser 1990
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae. Zürich-München
MEFRA	Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité
MH	Museum Helveticum
NAC	Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica e di Antichità classica
OeJh	Oesterreichische Jahreshefte
OPA	Overseas Publishers Association
QUCC	Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica
RA	Revue archéologique
REA	Revue des études anciennes
SMSR	Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni

SMPK	Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz
UP	University Press
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

INTRODUCTION

Dionysos, together with his retinue, is by far the most common subject of Greek vase painting of the 6th and 5th centuries, and a recurrent theme in iconographic studies. However, his image still remains controversial and continues to suffer from the mental reservations to which this extremely important deity of the Greek world has been exposed for many decades in traditional studies of the ancient world. In the final analysis, these mental reservations are due to the difficulties European culture has in accepting classical culture as a system based on values different from its own[1]. The research presented here is motivated precisely by the feeling that, in spite of his ubiquity in vase painting, Dionysos—especially the Dionysos of the pre-classical period—has remained basically obscure[2], and his image in classical scholarship has been conditioned less by the very rich and sequenced evidence of figurative art than by the literary sources. The most influential literary source has been the image sketched by Euripides in the tragedy "Bacchae", where Dionysos is portrayed as a misunderstood god and as a great chastiser, who bursts into the city from a long way off.

This image of Dionysos is in perfect agreement with the theory of classicists, which considers him to be a god substantially alien to the Homeric pantheon, accepted with reluctance and historically quite late[3]. This theory has the advantage of being able to exclude elegantly from the pantheon a whole sphere, which in European thought (based as it is on Christian mental categories), is completely incompatible with religion, namely, sexuality. An essential and characteristic feature of the world of Dionysos, which is extensively documented by iconography, as we shall see, is precisely sexuality; not as an expression of fertility or reproductive inclination but of joie de vivre, that is to say, a sexuality which in essence is "useless" and playful.

---

[1] We shall return to this topic in the closing chapter of this book, when discussing the modern mythologies of Dionysos.

[2] Or at least largely undervalued in respect of religious content: Carpenter 1986 and 1997 passim. Cf. the reviews: Isler-Kerényi 1991b and 2000.

[3] On this theory and the arguments against it, see Privitera 1970, passim, later confirmed by Kolb 1977.

In the pages that follow, then, we intend to explain how the image of Dionysos was formed and transformed in Greek—not only Attic—ceramic art between 650 and approximately 500 BCE. The second chronological limit falls shortly after the adoption of red figures, a new technique of vase painting that was to change the external look of luxury ceramics. But, as we shall see, due to the iconographic innovations that took place between 540 and 530, the Dionysiac repertoire also changed.

This book is based on a series of preliminary studies on specific problems[4] that have allowed me, during a long process of maturation, to clarify ideas of iconographic methodology suited to the task. These ideas have been compared to traditional conceptions and new approaches by archaeologists and students of antiquity engaged in similar work[5].

As everyone knows, there is very little literary information about Dionysos for the period in question. Brief mention of the vicissitudes of Dionysos the boy is found in the sixth book of the Iliad (verses 130–141)[6]; the seventh Homeric Hymn relates the kidnapping of the young god by Tyrrhenian pirates; and succinct references are made by the lyric poets[7]. The difference between these literary images of Dionysos and the images of archaic pottery is immediately obvious. He is never portrayed on the vases as an infant or a boy, but as a rule as a mature person, characterised by hieratic dignity even in joyful and playful contexts. One characteristic of Dionysos that marks him off from the other deities of the Greek pantheon is that he is almost always moving around with a procession of male and female followers. Identifying them is one of the main problems of his iconography. In this study, therefore, all these figures will be examined—grotesque dancers, satyrs, nymphs, matronly brides, riders on mules—starting with their first appearance.

We take into account, more than is usually the case, that all the images of vase painting, even the most ambitious, are subordinate

---

[4] With the subtitle „Iconografia dionisiaca“ (or „Dionysische Ikonographie“) I–VI and VIII: cf. the bibliography Isler-Kerényi 1988–1997. Dionysische Ikonographie VII („Dionysos und der Maultierreiter“), and IX („Dionysische Kinder“) have been in the press for many years.

[5] Bérard 1983; Bérard/Bron/Pomari 1987; Bérard/Vernant 1984; Keuls 1988, 227–230; Frontisi-Ducroux 1990; Rasmussen/Spivey 1991; Goldhill/Osborne 1994; Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 1–23. On the problem in general cf. Sparkes 1996, 114–139.

[6] For a thorough study, see Privitera 1970, 53–89.

[7] Privitera 1970.

to their image-bearer: the various types of vase with their well-defined traditions and functions, which the decoration necessarily has to fit. Another important criterion, nowadays almost always accepted in this field, is that the figures on the vases do not reflect the real world of the ancient Greeks but their mental world. In principle, the images are not "scenes" that can be turned completely into words or translated into a narrative. They are combinations of figures and signs intended to evoke specific facts and situations clearly connected with a particular occasion, intended for users of the object on which the scenes are depicted[8]. In this art, then, there is no hierarchy between tangible and imaginary elements; for those who originally considered these figures, sphinxes or sirens were no less real than lions or ducks.

We shall proceed, then, in chronological sequence and according to type of production, and extract as much information we can from the different pieces and series of similar images. Often this information is limited, because the images in vase painting are essentially not descriptive but allusive. Where it was enough for the original users to evoke very specific situations and experiences with a few conventional signs, for the modern viewer essential data are missing to receive them suitably. These situations and experiences were probably so "normal" that they did not even need to be mentioned in the ancient literary sources. These sources were directed, depending on their genre and audience, towards extraordinary and wonderful facts. This is the reason why it is difficult, in fact almost impossible, to find explicit literary proofs for the hypotheses that we are proposing on the images of Dionysos and his followers; we hope, instead, that these hypotheses will stimulate further research on the written sources, in order to clarify the role of Dionysos in the actual daily life of the ancient world.

I speak of "hypotheses", not of "results", because I do not think it acceptable, nowadays, to present the conclusions of this type of research as hard and undisputed facts: any problem and any solution will always be typical of our time and of our mental categories. The gap between our analytical tools and ancient historical reality remains substantially unbridgeable. But this does not remove our

[8] Sparkes 1996, 135: "The images are 'polyvalent', 'polysemic' and must be studied in the whole context of cultural reality: they are culturally determined"; Stähli 1999, 184.

responsibility to compare ourselves with whatever survives of the ancient world in our world. To reflect on and speak of Dionysos remains a duty and a challenge, even if is not possible to grasp and assimilate his substance in its entirety.

CHAPTER ONE

AN ICONOGRAPHY IN PROCESS

As is well known today, the oldest certain image of Dionysos, accompanied by his name in writing, is on a majestic *dinos* painted by Sophilos, most probably to be dated in the period between 580 and 570 BCE[1]. Apart from this, studies on iconography tend to attribute it a pioneering role for two reasons. One is that the focus of scholarly attention after about 600 BCE tends to shift towards Attic pottery, which is much richer and consistent throughout its history than its contemporary productions in other centres. The other reason is that the theory, developed in the nineteenth century by students of philology and the history of ancient religions, according to which Dionysos was essentially a deity alien to the original Greek pantheon, where he would have been accepted at a late date to meet the requirements of the lower and rural classes, has influenced archaeologists considerably[2]. Today, instead, it is not questioned that Dionysos, far from being a recent acquisition by the Greeks, is one of the oldest gods, since he is named on the tablets from Pylos and Chania in the second millennium BCE. It was not only Dionysos who belonged to the world of the Mycenaean palaces, clearly connoted in an aristocratic sense, and probably associated with wine even then[3]: wine also belonged there, with overtones not of commoners and countryside, but of prestige and power[4].

For the moment, let us leave aside the vexed question of the cultural transformation that took place in Greece between the 2nd and

---

[1] London 1971.11–1.1; Beazley, Addenda 10 (40. 16bis); for a new interpretation of the image see Isler-Kerényi 1997b, 67–81 and pp. 69–75 below.

[2] A recent typical example is Carpenter 1986, 125: "Dionysian imagery is a sixth-century Attic invention". Cf. also Peschel 1987, 15. Much more appropriate is the comment by Gasparri 1986, 499f. On the problem in general see the last chapter of this book.

[3] Privitera 1968, 1027 and Privitera 1970, 43 with n. 56; Hallager/Vlasakis/Hallager 1992, 76ff. Similarly also Angiolillo 1997, 142.

[4] Palmer 1995, 278: "Rather the palace administration reserved wine for special occasions such as festivals, or for people of high rank".

1st millennia BCE and to what extent it involved the sphere of religious beliefs and ritual (and so also the character of Dionysos)[5]. From our point of view, concerning the history of images, we know of no definite representation of this god in Attic pottery before the image by Sophilos. However, the reason for this situation is to be sought, not in the history of religions but in the history of pottery. In fact, we know that the whole production of Athenian ceramic art had changed significantly a few years before the pottery painter Sophilos had started his career. The types of vase as well as the decorative formulae and the choice of subject matter had all changed. Where in the 7th century figurative decoration was found on large vessels with a monumental function, decorated in what is called the orientalising style, in about 600 BCE or shortly afterward, it adorned new shapes that were introduced afresh, which were far easier to handle and often produced in series. The most important among these new shapes are the oinochoe (little jugs with a mouth often shaped like a trefoil), the dinos on a stand with its successor, the krater, and especially the kylix (drinking-cup): all types of vessel intended for drinking wine[6]. Thus, Dionysos belongs to the new repertoire, adapted to a new choice of shapes, but his absence from the previous phase does not necessarily mean that he was foreign to the mental world of the Athenians[7].

In fact, it only needs a change of viewpoint to reach completely different hypotheses: especially by not restricting our attention to the figure of the god but instead also including characters who, as indicated by the successive development of Dionysian iconography, in some way belong to his ambit. Besides the pottery of Athens, we also have to consider contemporary ceramics from other centres.

An image of Dionysos from the 7th century BCE

Fig. 1–2 In the 7th century, the production of ceramics in Athens belonged, as did all its culture, to the wider panorama of Ionian pottery with

[5] Burkert 1977, 88–98.
[6] Isler-Kerényi 1993a, 3.
[7] Similarly, but with a different explanation for the absence of images of Dionysos in the centuries prior to the orientalising century, is the argument by Gasparri 1986, 496.

its many production centres. One of the most important examples, both for numerical consistency and for its avant-garde role in the history of figurative art, is the so-called Melian pottery, more probably produced in Paros and in any case oriented towards the important sanctuary of Delos[8]. Here also, as in Attica, besides common and standardised types of pot, large containers with a monumental function, conventionally called "Melian amphorae", were made, although in fact they were more like kraters. Today, a dozen of these are known, either complete or as fragments. The importance of these kraters with a high foot lies in the fact that, within the overall orientalising production in Greece, characterised by more generic and anonymous types of decoration, such as the animal frieze or the "Wappenbild", they are some of the few to portray mythical events, often identifiable through the attributes that the characters are given. The mythological repertoire of these kraters comprises few images: the wedding or ceremonial cart drawn by winged horses; the duel between heroes; the Lady of the Lions; the anonymous female protome; the erotic abduction; and Hermes Psychopompos in front of a woman of the nuptial-matronly type. We find a venerable male deity, positioned and portrayed in the same way as Hermes, with a vessel like a kantharos in his hand: why not call him Dionysos[9]? In fact, this is how Dionysos was portrayed throughout the whole 6th century[10]. Therefore, Dionysos (with Apollo, Artemis, Hermes and Herakles) is one of the five gods and heroes who definitely feature on pottery already in the 7th century, a clear indication of his importance in the Cycladic culture of the time[11].

This representation of Dionysos in the final decades of the 7th century, rather than the one by Sophilos, may in fact claim to be the earliest occurrence of the god in figurative art, and is historically important for two reasons. In terms of iconography, it confirms the cultural connections also attested in other sources between Attica and the Cyclades in the 8th century, and it is the first of a series

[8] Boardman 1998, 111f.

[9] Melos, Archaeological Museum (formerly Athens, British School): LIMC III, Dionysos 708.

[10] For a detailed iconographic analysis of this image cf. Isler-Kerényi 1990b.

[11] In this context note the temple attributed to Dionysos in Yria, Naxos, discovered in 1986, the first phases of which date back to the beginning of the 8th century BCE: Gruben 1996, 398ff.

of images of Dionysos facing a woman on medallions of Attic kylikes in the second quarter of the 6th century[12]. This female is usually called Ariadne. However, it is equally likely that it could be the essentially anonymous, prototypical figure of the bride. Considering the funerary and commemorative function of these kraters, the matronly figure could certainly indicate two figures at the same time: a young bride who died prematurely and the companion of Dionysos, who was her mythological model.

Analysis of the decorative system of the Cycladic kraters has shown that, whereas the vase as a whole has a heroic connotation[13], the function of the upper panel was specifically to evoke death in various ways: through the duel between heroes; the erotic abduction; the meeting with Hermes Psychopompos[14]. In fact, it is through death that a mortal becomes a hero. For the Cycladic painter to whom we owe the oldest image of Dionysos, the god goes into action, like Hermes, precisely in this sphere—the heroic sphere—intermediate between the divine and human levels, intermediate between life and death. The little that we know of 7th century iconography not only fails to justify reading Dionysos in either a plebeian or an exotic mode[15], but also allows a glimpse of his position and his special role in relationships between mortals and Olympic deities.

Characters of the Dionysian circle before 600 BCE

As we said in the Introduction, it is typical of Greek pottery to portray Dionysos in contexts that do not match specific episodes from mythology but have a generic aura of myth. In other words, he is accompanied by male and female characters of unspecified and fluctuating identity, as we shall see. One of the most discussed and most controversial problems in Dionysian iconography is precisely how to understand when and to what extent these characters are to be considered as mythological and when, instead, as human. We will

---

[12] To be discussed on p. 44f.

[13] A decorative formula that often occurs on these kraters, with a clearly heroic meaning, is in fact horses facing each other: Isler-Kerényi 1990b, 35–38.

[14] Isler-Kerényi 1990b, 41ff.

[15] This is in perfect agreement with the image of the god transmitted either by contemporary literature or by the historical documentation of the Mycenaean tablets, cf. Privitera 1968.

return to this problem later. For the moment, it is important to remember that in the following phases there are two main categories of male characters represented together with Dionysos: satyrs and dancers. The satyrs are essentially hybrids of human and equine form, and therefore seem to belong more to mythology. The dancers, instead, appear as deformed and grotesque males and plausibly belong to ritual.

Both the satyr and the dancer may have precedents in Greek ceramic art before 600 BCE. The oldest example in terms of chronology can be dated towards the end of the 8th century. It is the *fragment of a large geometric vase* found in Miletus[16], with a row of pot-bellied dancers. Unfortunately, since it is the only known example of the subject in the geometric figurative repertoire, and in the absence of an accurate description of it, all we can do is note its existence and propose the hypothesis that the dance of pot-bellied males, a recurrent motif in orientalising pottery[17] of Corinth, may go back to the geometric repertoire. Fundamentally static images from the world of funerals, rituals and athletics dominate this repertoire, whereas figurations that could evoke mythological events, such as hunts and shipwrecks, remain rare[18]. *Fig. 3*

Another example of a geometric dancer, but possibly as early as the 7th century, appears on a *fragment of a skyphos from Eretria*[19], positioned in the right margin of the figured band next to a lyre of the same size as the dancer. Clearly, it is not a dance scene in the literal sense, but instead—matching the practical function of the container, for use in a symposium—has a twofold allusion: to music and to dance.

There are certainly not enough elements to ascribe these geometric dancers to the sphere of Dionysos, but the physical appearance of those that feature in the first example (they are pot-bellied and move with bowlegs) and the functional context of the second example do not exclude such a possibility. This is significant, since, as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, there are no historical reasons to make the absence of Dionysos in Greek pottery in this period plausible.

---

[16] IM 9/10, 1959/60, 58 pl. 60.2.

[17] Here the term is used purely in the chronological sense, without implying the transfer of motifs from the ancient Near East to Greece.

[18] Coldstream 1977, 352–356.

[19] Isler-Kerényi 1993a, 3 n. 2.

Nor is there a lack of characters that could belong to the world of Dionysos in Protoattic pottery in the first half of the 7th century. The figures that interest us appear in the region of the handles, in between the mythological figures represented on the main sides, of a *krater in fragments formerly in Berlin*[20]. They represent different types, similar to the two variants of mythological males defined above. In the first of the images that interest us there are two characters, much alike, who appear to be dancing and simultaneously trying to hurl missiles at each other. From the way they move and from their gesture of touching their buttocks, they are similar to Corinthian and Attic pot-bellied dancers. The character on the opposite side of the vase, who is hairy and has one large round eye, is closer to the animal world and the wild, and so far closer to the satyr. He is also holding some round objects, possibly stones, instead of the 'civilised' weapons used by gods and heroes. These beings from the Protoattic period are evidently equated with primitive and wild mythological characters such as the Minotaur and the Centaurs.

Fig. 4–5

A *Protoattic amphora*[21] that is chronologically close to the Cycladic krater just examined with the oldest known image of Dionysos—we are therefore in the final decades of the 7th century—belongs to a similar functional sphere. In the largest panel of the main side, it shows a hero attacking a centaur, while a quadriga with a charioteer and a female figure wait for him. In front of the horses, at the far right of the image and in line with the joint of the handle, there is a strange character, small, grotesque and bearded, with a leg that is out of proportion, in the act of dancing or running towards the protagonists of the scene. Although not forming part of a group, he also has the same characteristics as the Dionysian dancers, but could simply be a filler.

Fig. 6

Dionysian characters in the animal frieze

The animal frieze, a decorative formula typical of the orientalising style and found in all the regional productions of pottery in the 7th century BCE and later, has long been considered purely ornamental and devoid of content. This hypothesis is not very convincing if one

[20] Berlin 31573 (A 32): CV 1 pls. 19–21.
[21] New York 11.210.1: JHS 32, 1912, pl. 11f.

thinks of the prestige that images must have enjoyed in the ancient world, even when they were secondary in respect of the image-bearer. A hypothesis of this kind comes from a traditional way of reading the vase decoration that is basically inadequate. In the Introduction we have pointed out that this decoration does not wish to reproduce scenes from the real world but to evoke a world of the mind. Thus, there is no difference between the so-called 'scenes' and the open figurations of the animal frieze. The individual elements of the decoration can express a message even when they are simply in a line and not only when they are linked by the same action. It follows that the animals and vegetal motifs forming the frieze also wish to evoke something real, which the recipients of the vase assimilated immediately, whereas we are able to sketch the meaning only vaguely because to a large extent we lack the appropriate cultural parameters. A plausible hypothesis, for example, is that the animal frieze alludes to a sector of the cosmos opposed to the one controlled by man and his laws, the sector that to human eyes is seen as 'outside', the wild[22]. Among the deities of the classical pantheon, the first to dominate it would be Artemis, whom archaic art assimilates with the Mistress of the wild animals. It is a plausible hypothesis that not even Dionysos was foreign to this world, since his infancy, as already stated in the Iliad[23], occurred in the circle of the Nymphai, who are at home in the forest and wild nature. In fact, we lack sufficiently accurate data on the image of Dionysos during this period. However, it is worth noting that we find here the exact prototypes of both the Dionysian dancers and the satyr.

We have already noted the presence of a figure related to the satyr in Protoattic pottery in the first half of the 7th century. One figure which is more similar to the satyrs of the 6th century is depicted on a *pointed aryballos from the Protocorinthian period found in Brindisi*, Tor Pisana, which is dated at the latest to around 650 BCE[24]. Besides the usual decoration for this type of pottery (rhombi in the geometric tradition, rosettes and interwoven ribbons typical of the orientalising tradition), on the main band of the vase we find four pairs of figures in a row: two facing sphinxes (one with a beard!), *Fig. 7*

[22] Isler 1978.
[23] Privitera 1970, 53f. and 83.
[24] Brindisi 1669: Amyx 1988, 333, 659.

with a bird in the centre; duelling hoplites; a lion seizing a kind of ibex with his teeth; and lastly, a bearded, ithyphallic character, who with club in hand suddenly attacks a female figure. This character is distinguished from the satyr only because he lacks a tail. The woman is wearing a long garment and is looking behind her: she holds a wreath in one hand and the other she extends towards a hare. The four segments of this band certainly do not all belong to one and the same 'scene', even if they give the impression of being connected in some way on the intellectual level. The negative connotation that the four episodes have in common is obvious: it is always an antithesis, a confrontation. In fact, we are dominated by aggression whether on the battlefield or in wild nature, or in a transition zone between the human level and the mythical level of sphinxes. The image of the woman under attack places this episode in a world that is similar to the world of wild animals: but the wreath and the glance linking the two protagonists add an erotic colouring to the image that foreshadows the erotic aggressions of satyrs in the following century.

Contemporary, or slightly more recent, is an image that can be considered the immediate forerunner to the Dionysian dancers of
Fig. 8 the 6th century. On a *tiny alabastron*[25] which, judging from the type of rosette inserted between the figures, must still belong to the Protocorinthian or to the Transitional style, and so at the latest dates to the decades around 630 BCE[26], we see four male characters arranged on the two sides of a wide vessel on a stand (which could be a krater although one of the handles is missing)[27]. They are not pot-bellied, and in fact two of them are wearing a kind of belt. However, their position in the panel and their grotesque manner of moving is typical of pot-bellied dancers of Corinthian pottery from the 6th century. One of them is carrying a drinking-horn, a common attribute of later dancers in both Corinthian and Attic pottery as we will see. Instead, the second character from the right is carrying an object that is difficult to identify and could be a little jug. In any case, we get the impression that two characters are doing something with the

[25] Private collection. Exhibited for a time in Zurich, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität, L 88.
[26] Dehl-von Kaenel 1995, 42.
[27] For a preliminary interpretation of the piece cf. Isler-Kerényi 1988, 272f.

large vessel, positioned on the vase in the centre of the composition[28]. The crossed arms of the one carrying the horn are unusual, but in fact similar to the crossed legs of dancers in similar figurations in Laconian and Boeotian pottery: it emphasises the grotesque and paradoxical nature of the action.

The most interesting character of the four is the one to the left of the large vase in the middle: he is facing forward with bent legs, in a position that would be overtly obscene if the style of the decoration were not so concise. This is not an isolated element in the representations of pot-bellied dancers. On vases with red figures it remains a typical feature of satyrs, for example; so there is no doubt that it belongs to the Dionysian world. Like the stones in the hands of the strange, more or less contemporary Protoattic characters that we have just considered, this position, which is contrary to the norms of decent behaviour, could mean that we are now in an "inverted" world, in a world that is the antithesis of the normal.

Slightly more recent is another Corinthian image of Dionysian dancers, considered the oldest occurrence of this iconographical type, found on a *fragmentary dinos from Athens* belonging to the phase between the Transitional and the Corinthian styles[29]. It is particularly important because, as it was found at the Attic site of Vari, well-known for supplying the greatest number of Protoattic vases of the 7th century, it is material evidence for the penetration of Corinthian imagery into Attic craftwork. Apart from the early date and the place where it was found, the figuration also stands out because the formula of the Dionysian dancers, arranged on the vase in a prominent position, now has a canonical formulation: groups of two or three pot-bellied dancers are arranged on the sides of a large vessel forming the pivot of the composition. A youthful person is approaching with what appears to be a wine-skin on his shoulder. Accordingly, this confirms the association of the dancers with wine that we had already noted on the alabastron in the transitional style. We can therefore accept that this association is present even when the vessel is missing from executions of the same subject that are sketchier or more hastily drawn.

Fig. 9

---

[28] In the description by Seeberg 1971, 39 nr. 207, the krater is instead the goal of a "procession" of four figures.

[29] Athens, from Vari: Callipolitis-Feytmans 1970, 93–97; Amyx 1988, 60.

A characteristic feature of the pot-bellied dancers is their portrayal as a group: that is, the action of an individual is part of a collective performance, here rendered not as an ordered dance but as moving together around a large vessel. This vessel can only contain wine, as indicated both by the wine-skin and by the drinking-horn. As we have seen, the presence of wine and the association with Dionysos, already present in Hesiodus[30], are also documented in the pottery of the Cyclades in the final decades of the 7th century, and, as we shall see, in Athenian vase painting after about 580 BCE. Later, they spread throughout Greece and into the areas where the Greeks spread—including Etruscan cities. Viewed in this way, to remove the grotesque dancers from the sphere of Dionysos seems to be forcing matters[31]. Instead, it seems far more plausible that, in the second half of the 7th century BCE, Dionysos, the god of wine, was known not only in Boeotia (Hesiodus's homeland) and in the Cyclades, but also in Corinth.

Conclusion

In evaluating these first traces of the Dionysian world in Corinthian pottery, we can make two observations: first, the two motifs of the "proto-satyr" and the dancers appear in one of the oldest phases of figurative decoration, to which they belong quite naturally. Therefore, it is not possible to state that these subjects are secondary to others. Nor can one deduce that their absence from previous phases is anything special, as it is motivated principally by the actual style: unlike Attic and Argive styles, the Corinthian geometric style does not use the human figure at all.

A similar consideration is also valid for Attic geometric pottery. As we have seen, the repertoire of the geometric style is limited to a certain number of subjects that have an explicit connection with the function of the actual vases, i.e. chiefly for celebrations and burials. Typical Attic geometric vases, even with figured decoration, are not intended for the symposium or other occasions linked in some

[30] Privitera 1970, 93.

[31] For example, cf. Carpenter 1986, 86: ". . . this does not necessarily imply . . . that komos scenes are Dionysian in origin . . .".

way with Dionysos: the absence of Dionysian motifs is not at all surprising and does not mean that in Attica, in the corresponding historical period, the concept of Dionysos was missing. The first mythological images on Attic painted pottery—for example, Perseus, Herakles or other characters from the heroic world—entered the repertoire during the Protoattic period. At exactly the same time, the first figures that could belong to the Dionysian world appeared. Again it must be admitted that the absence of Dionysos and the characters belonging to his circle in figurative art is determined not by their non-existence in the local—cultic or mythic—ambience (because then the same conclusions would have to be drawn about Zeus, Athena, et cetera) but from a choice of repertoire conditioned by artistic style and the function of the image-bearers.

Thus, the iconographic situation of the centuries prior to about 600 BCE does not in any way prove that Dionysos and his circle did not belong to the mental world of the Greeks. The evidence makes it more likely that at that time the position of Dionysos in the Greek pantheon was by no means subordinate or secondary, but similar to other deities whose presence in this period has not been disputed, in spite of the meagre iconographic evidence or even of its absence. The idea that Dionysos did not originally belong to that pantheon and was inserted into it against the will of the representatives of constituted order is solely due to the dominating influence exerted by the Euripidean and generally tragic image of Dionysos on 19th century classicists[32].

It cannot be said that Dionysos and the characters of his circle are absent from the art of the first centuries of historical Greece. It is also true that, as for all the other characters of mythology and religion, in the 7th century BCE there was a period of experiment and trial, before his image was fixed in 'canonical' forms, to ensure its immediate acceptance. Those forms were developed gradually and, based on the few occurrences that have reached us, it remains difficult to establish the exact moment and the cultural milieu in which they were consolidated. However, we can state that, at the latest, the figure of Dionysos appears in its canonical form in the closing decades of the 7th century in a Cycladic milieu at the same

[32] Cf. Introduction and Chapter 7.

time as the first Dionysian dancers, and that it was preceded by the figure of the proto-satyr, already documented in Corinth in 650 BCE.

Finally, it is important to note that, among the Dionysian subjects present in the oldest phases of figured pottery, at least Dionysos himself and the dancers are explicitly connected with wine. In addition, the dancers, like the proto-satyrs, are attributed to the wild sphere of the cosmos, the antithesis of the civilised world. Thus, wine is closely linked with the division of the cosmos into two parts, which is clearly felt to be fundamental: 'inside' and 'outside'; culture and nature. In fact, in these first images wine has opposite values that, however, paradoxically, do not seem to be mutually exclusive: in the krater it is a symbol of civic life; in the drinking-horn it is a symbol of a primitive phase; in the wine-skin, used for transporting wine, it is a symbol of the transition from 'outside' to 'inside'.

The primacy for the most varied imagery belongs to Corinth, even if the figure of the god is missing, although his presence is certain in the Cyclades. However, we must remember that a figuration of Dionysos similar to the one on the Cycladic krater would fit badly into the decorative system of the animal frieze, whereas the dancers and satyrs belong there naturally. In Attica, as early as the 7th century, there was also a search for figurative formulae suitable for characters belonging not to the world of heroes and mythology but to the liminal world between civilisation and wild nature. After 600 BCE, the various figurative experiences of neighbouring workshops would converge on Athens to form a consistent and structured tradition of Dionysian imagery.

CHAPTER TWO

TURNING INTO A SATYR: SMALL VASES FROM THE FIRST HALF OF THE 6TH CENTURY BCE

What is the reason for this subtitle? First of all, in iconography it is essential to respect periods and development in order not to lose sight of the historical dimension. However, as I said in the introduction to this book, it is equally important to keep in mind the function of the image-bearers. Small vases, used for drinking or for containing unguents, are intended for an individual: the message of their decoration is addressed to him alone. Large vases, rather, are usually intended not for individuals but for collective use: a krater is used simultaneously by a group (for example, by participants at a symposium), and a monumental amphora placed in a necropolis or a sanctuary, although celebrating a prominent person or honouring a deity, is addressed to the passers-by. The message of the image is intended more for a community than for an individual.

Usually, studies of Dionysian iconography consider only—or at least in preference—Attic pottery, which has the advantage of being especially rich, sequenced and well studied. More than the iconography from other centres, it provides useful historical links with other types of evidence concerning Dionysos, his mythology and his festivals. However, this 'Athenocentric' trend is misleading and reductive, contradicting the real historical situation. Certainly, Athens may have had its own particular history, which is better known to us than the history of other cities; but it has never been an isolated history and its course is not substantially different from the history of neighbouring poleis[1]. This fact is reflected also in Dionysian iconography, which is particularly rich in Athens, just as its ceramic production during the 6th century is exceptionally copious and well documented. However, the attention that we must necessarily pay to the Athenian image of Dionysos and his world must not make

[1] Raaflaub 1996, 1059.

us lose sight of the situation in Corinth, for example, or Boeotia, Sparta and various Ionian centres.

Corinthian unguent vases

History of art demands first of all taking the Dionysian iconography of Corinth into consideration, because this is where the typology we are interested in was developed and because the pottery of Corinth had the greatest influence on the production in Athens between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century. This applies both to the technique of black figures (figures painted in black on a light background, with incised details and added colours), and to the new repertoire of shapes adopted by the artisans of the potters' quarter of Athens, the Kerameikos, around or shortly after 600 BCE. It is not surprising therefore that the same influence was felt also in the area of Dionysian iconography.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, one of the ways in which the Corinthian imagery of wine penetrated Attica is documented by the fragmentary dinos dated between 620 and 610 BCE, with grotesque dancers, found on the Attic site of Vari. This is by far the most widespread Dionysian subject in Corinthian pottery in the years around 600 BCE and during the first half of the following century, and one of the standard decorations of the globular ointment vases, the aryballoi[2]. The formula that is repeated most often, and the most concise, besides the individual dancer, is the row of dancers with interposed rosettes: it provides few elements for interpretation. Furthermore, these strange figures have been the subject of a discussion on the origins of Attic drama that has lasted for generations and is still unresolved. In fact, some have wished to see the dancers as actors: grotesque characters in disguise or padded clothes. Such a reading presupposes that the images intended to reproduce photographically what the eye saw: the actual style, which is allusive rather than descriptive and dominated by conventional formulae, excludes this. Therefore, we must force ourselves to exclude specu-

Fig. 10–12

[2] Amyx 1988, 651ff. For an overall view of the iconography of the Corinthian grotesque dancer cf. Seeberg 1964 and especially Seeberg 1971. The relationship between the shape of the aryballos and the subject of dancers is probably closer today than it really was: Seeberg 1995, 1f. Example: Zurich 3505: CV 1 pl. 3, 51–54.

lations concerning the origin of drama and pay attention to the actual figures, always bearing in mind the limitations of the modern interpreter, who remains somehow foreign to the cultural system to which these figurations belong.

The Corinthian unguent vases confirm what has been said about previous versions: the pot-bellied dancers belong to the world of the animal frieze, a world—not real but imaginary—antithetical to the 'normal' world governed by human laws. They are male characters, shown to be such not by a phallus, which is usually missing, but by their beard and clothing (even if we cannot always establish with certainty whether they are imagined as clothed or naked). The greatest difference to other male characters in the figurative repertoire of the period lies in the way they move, in their grotesque proportions, in their clothing. Note, in particular, the recurrent deformation of one foot[3]: as they are dancers, this is an absurd feature, which emphasises the carnival nature of this dance. This needs not mean disguise, but it certainly indicates difference: they are completely different characters from the figures of the heroic world and, in looks, the opposite of the young athlete[4]. In comparison with these, they give the impression of being somehow incomplete, infantile, or pertaining to a transitional phase, of undefined identity, and thus belonging to a world outside the norm. They form a group and move as a group (the stylised rendering emphasises this effect) and the group is clearly more important than the individual: in fact, figurations of individuals are considered abbreviations of group images[5]. Closer to these figurations than the theatre is the ritual and community sphere that, on the other hand, contains elements of a show.

The above examples of grotesque dancers—on the alabastron in a private collection and on the dinos from Vari[6]—allow us to establish an explicit link between dance and wine. This is fully confirmed by the drinking-horns and the kraters or dinoi on a stand, present in the series of images we are considering. As we know, the ritualised consumption of wine is a central element of the symposium: we will see that the dancers introduced into Attic art due to Corinthian

[3] Seeberg, 1971, 74f.; Amyx 1988, 651.
[4] Seeberg 1971, 3: "The komasts are presented as emphatically unathletic".
[5] Callipolitis-Feytmans 1970, 94.
[6] See p. 13.

influence were to become the standard decoration of symposium pottery. In Corinth, instead, the same dancers are a typical decoration of aryballoi, which are not vases for drinking but for unguents: what is the connection between these vases and the domain of wine?

The unguent vases were also used in the symposium (like the lekythoi later, in spite of their obvious connection with the funerary world)[7]. However, as figurations of the aryballoi in Attic vase-painting suggest[8], the more direct mental association was with the athletic competition and its protagonists. There are at least two possible connections between the athlete and the pot-bellied dancer: the dancer, deformed and grotesque, could be representing the antithesis of the athlete, possibly alluding to past or future events in which the athlete is transformed into his own antithesis, undergoing a radical metamorphosis. Such a metamorphosis could happen only metaphorically in that the athlete, even without changing externally, could 'feel' that he had become different, finding himself outside the normal world, having fallen back into a savage state.

The second connection could be through the wine, in the sense that the dancers—associated with the large vessel for communal drinking—remind the young athlete of the goal to which his present condition, connected to a particular stage of life, naturally tended. This was access to the symposium, no longer as a young cupbearer or eromenos but as a symposiast, equal to the other symposiasts. On the other hand, the image of the symposiast could be a metaphor for the perfect condition of the fully-fledged citizen. In this sense, the status of athlete could be understood as a preliminary condition for the status of symposiast (alias, citizen): because to be qualified to drink wine in the setting of the symposium was equivalent to being recognised as an equal by the community.

Why, then, the choice of the formula of the dancer and not of the recumbent symposiast? The difference between the two formulae is clear: the recumbent symposiast is a static subject, somewhat fixed, and that was precisely where the attraction of his goal lay. Rather, the motif of the dancer evokes instability, a discontinuous and transitional condition. Hence the hypothesis, stated elsewhere[9],

---

[7] On the function of the lekythoi cf. Gex-Morgenthaler 1993, 59f.
[8] For example on the amphora by the Amasis Painter, discussed here on p. 136f.
[9] Isler-Kerényi 1988.

that the unavoidable transition from one condition (athlete) to another (symposiast), the metamorphosis, was felt to be Dionysian: this does not contradict the evidence from other sources concerning Dionysos and his way of acting[10].

It is possible, then, to establish an exact connection between the aryballos and Dionysos without referring to wine. In some of these passages wine could be involved, because evidently the consumption of wine emphasises the sensation of instability or transition required in those circumstances. The consumption of wine in ritualised form—as in the symposium but also during certain festivals—also guaranteed that the effect and the sensation would remain confined, would not escape control and would not become a danger to the community.

Support for this interpretation comes from a *Middle Corinthian aryballos of exceptional size*[11], its only decoration, apart from rosettes, being two male busts in profile: the one to the right has a beard whereas the other to the fore and left, does not. Both have long hair: the youthful person cannot be a woman, because the shoulder blades are depicted and not the hem of a garment[12]. This figuration could refer to two different ages in a man's life, the ephebe and the mature man; but it could indicate a third possible connection between the aryballos and Dionysos, the erotic connection. The form of the unguent vase evokes perfumes and therefore the sphere of Eros and Aphrodite. In addition, it is in this sphere that the young athlete, the typical beloved (eromenos), and the symposiast are situated: first in the role of eromenos, then as erastes. The flowers, namely the rosettes, are not alien to this setting. *Fig. 14–15*

The problem of establishing which of these connections was intended by the creator of the image and the user of the piece must remain open (all the more since, as so often happens, the context of the find-spot is missing and therefore any evidence that could throw light on the use of the vase). Regardless, we note yet again that the figurations on pottery, conceived for being suitable for vases that are not always identical in function, allow for more than one reading; and these readings do not necessarily exclude each other but are often complementary.

---

[10] For example, the Homeric Hymn to Dionysos or the Bacchae of Euripides, in which both the god and his opponents are transformed.

[11] Würzburg L 110: Amyx 1988, 174 no. 26.

[12] Two other aryballoi attributed to the same painter show two bearded busts facing each other: Benson 1971, 15 nos. 20 and 21.

Before moving on, let us briefly examine some specific examples of Corinthian grotesque dancers that could reveal something more about their possible meaning. On a *small bottle (alabastron) from ancient Corinth*[13], to be dated around 600 BCE[14], the figures are arranged on two registers. In the upper register we see a boar hunt: clearly a hunt for heroes[15]. One of the hunters, positioned exactly under the joint (now lost) of the handle, does not use a spear but a round projectile like the one in the hands of the fantastic creatures already considered on the Protoattic krater[16]. This is repeated, as we will see, in the figuration of the boar hunt on a contemporary Attic dinos: the use of such different weapons in the same scene suggests placing the event between wild life and the heroic age. The grotesque characters of the large frieze are not dancing but performing various acts. In the centre of the composition there is a lion[17] biting the head of a grotesque person armed with a cudgel. The situation would be hopeless if a hunter, as slender as those in the upper frieze, were not approaching from the right with a spear pointing at the beast. The rest of the frieze is filled with five figures of the type we have already met. The first on the left seems to be observing the scene just described with sympathy. The third figure is seizing the deformed leg of the second, the last two are running in from the right, the first with a kithara (reminiscent of the fragment of a late-geometric Euboic skyphos already discussed)[18], the second with a double flute: both instruments are clearly shown but are not destined to be played. The feature that gives this figuration some notoriety is the bearded head emerging from the base line, located exactly under the joint of the handle on the back of the vase, and so imagined to be in a liminal area.

This position is reminiscent of the female protome on the reverse of one of the Cycladic kraters already mentioned[19], which we under-

---

[13] Louvre S 1104: Seeberg 1971, 41 nos. 216 and 75; Amyx 1988, 110 no. 2; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 248f. fig. 97–99; LIMC III, Dionysos 49.

[14] Amyx 1988, 428.

[15] On a possible connection between the boar hunt and the symposium: Isler-Kerényi 1997a, 536 n. 37.

[16] Berlin 31573 (A32) See p. 10.

[17] For Amyx, loc. cit., it is a panther.

[18] Cf. p. 9.

[19] Athens 3961: Isler-Kerényi 1990b; above, p. 7.

stood as an allusion to the generative potential of the ground[20]. The protome could also have been understood to be a head of Dionysos, which, as we shall see[21], will be the only male deity sometimes represented in this way. For the moment, we do not have enough elements to go further in the interpretation. If the vase is considered as a whole, it is clear that the grotesque persons belong to a wild and dangerous world of 'outside' (and to the heroic hunt), a world that is on the one hand antithetical, and on the other complementary to the world of music.

Another figuration of dancers often associated with the one just discussed appears on an *aryballos from Early Corinthian*[22] which, besides the usual dancers, shows under the joint of the handle, a frontal view of a squatting male dressed in panther skin. The frontal squatting position, as we shall see in respect of a Boeotian tripod-pyxis and an Attic aryballos, both more recent[23], probably has a specific meaning: the metamorphosis intentionally induced (by means of masturbation) of a dancer into a satyr. Here too one of the dancers rushes in with a double flute in his hand. The allusion to the same wild and Dionysian milieu is obvious.

The dancers in the Early Corinthian period are associated not only with the wild and erotic sphere but also explicitly with wine[24]: the consumption of wine does not only take place in the symposium but also at a sacrifice. This is shown by a vessel of the type called *kothon*[25], probably Early Corinthian. Here together in the same frieze, interspersed with squatting sphinxes arranged to correspond with the three joints of the handles on the vase, are dancers in various poses and forms, one of whom could be holding a round projectile in his hand. At the centre of the image is a krater on a stand and from the left a male of normal proportions is approaching it, carrying a

---

[20] Isler-Kerényi 1990b, 35.

[21] For example, on the Naples cup Stg. 172, discussed on p. 165ff.

[22] London 1884.10–11.48: Seeberg 1971, 42, no. 218, and 75; Amyx 1988, 110 no. 8; LIMC III, Dionysos 285.

[23] See pp. 37 and 195 below (aryballos by Nearchos, New York 26.49).

[24] Callipolitis-Feytmans 1970, 95: "..Il est probable que les peintres qui ont d'abord traité le sujet ont axé la composition sur le dinos afin d'attirer l'attention sur les rapports qui existent entre ce type de danse et les fêtes pour le vin".

[25] Würzburg 118: Callipolitis-Feytmans 1970, 95ff.; Seeberg 1971, 41 and 62 no. 215; Amyx 1988, 471. For the type of vase that was probably used as a large unguent-container for communal use in a symposium, see: Scheibler 1964 and 1968.

wineskin on his shoulders. Between him and the krater there is a horned animal, evidently a caprid for sacrifice. The connection between drinking together (the symposium) and eating together (which follows the sacrifice) is obvious[26]: it is not surprising, then, to find dancers in this setting.

A Corinthian mule-rider

At this point, we must take a closer look at one of the most discussed Middle Corinthian figurations. It does not include grotesque dancers, but is important for its iconographic connections with the Protoattic krater just considered[27] and with the return of Hephaistos
Fig. 13 to Olympus. It is on *a miniature amphora*[28], evidently a rare and precious variant of the unguent-container. On the side, which we shall call 'A' because it is clearly central to the image, a beardless, long haired youth is sitting on a mule. He is holding the reins in his right hand and with his left hand is lifting a drinking-horn towards his lips. The most striking element, which, as we shall see below, makes this rider similar to the Hephaistos on the dinos by Sophilos, is the way his legs (both on the same side of the mount) and his feet (clearly deformed) are depicted. A bearded male is following the rider on foot with a bunch of grapes in his left hand. Many scholars see the third figure on the left as Dionysos. Instead, for anyone else considering the figuration without preconceptions, it is clearly a woman[29]. If we move to the other side of the little vase, the woman is followed by a nude male who is supporting a large vine branch with bunches of grapes on one shoulder and raising his left hand (in greeting?). At the end of the procession, a male is carrying a jug in his left hand, which is similar to the one already surmised to be in the hand of one of the dancers on the transitional alabastron in a private collection.

The most enigmatic figures are the last two, which do not seem to form part of the procession but, as indicated by the little tree in

---

[26] Durand/Schnapp 1984, 49–54.
[27] Berlin 31573 (A 32): cf. p. 10 above.
[28] Athens 664: Amyx 1988, 497 no. 1; Seeberg 1965, pl. 24; Seeberg 1971, 45 no. 227a; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 217 fig. 71; LIMC IV, Hephaistos 129.
[29] Seeberg 1965, 103 n. 10.

front of the mule, belong to a different setting, even if connected in some way with the one in which the procession is moving. Directly under the handle (and thus in a position similar to the one on the Protoattic krater of Berlin), we find an ithyphallic person (in spite of his clothes). He has unkempt hair and is moving towards the right while turning his head towards the left, establishing a clear connection with the procession on side A. In his left hand this person is holding an object that is difficult to identify (possibly a little cup) but in his right hand he has something round, perhaps a stone or fruit for throwing. Beside him is a second person with a long, dangling phallus, a feature that makes him like the satyrs, even though he also shows some affinity with the canonical dancers.

For an appropriate reading we must avoid projecting onto this figuration either problems that are essentially unrelated to iconography, such as the problem of the origin of Attic drama, or mythological labels derived from more recent images, such as the Return of Hephaistos on the François krater. Above all, we will try to clarify the definite elements present in the image. We can see a procession that is connected with vines, grapes and wine. One of the themes evoked could be the transition from vine into wine: on a conceptual level, the metamorphoses of grapes into wine, on a level of practical (ordinary) life, the production of wine. The type of little vase in question confirms this reading. For the function of the unguent-holder, the potter had well-established shapes at his disposal, such as the spherical or pointed aryballos and the alabastron. If he chose the little amphora, he did so to add value to the piece and its figured decoration.

Another definite element is the procession comprising of five people, including a young rider and a woman. The deformed feet of the rider (allowing him to move about only if mounted) indicate that this procession does not belong to the world of heroes and is not in the normal setting of the polis, but is moving in a marginal zone. However, both the mount—not a horse but a mule—and the vine suggest a rural world rather than the world of wild nature. The woman with her cloak evokes order and correct behaviour: it is sufficient to compare her with the wild woman being attacked by a kind of satyr, on the pointed Protocorinthian aryballos[30]. The little

[30] Brindisi 1669; see p. 11f. above.

tree marks the boundary between the rural zone, external but not extraneous to the polis, and the 'outside': all that is different from and antithetical to the polis. Instead, the two persons with their uncivilized and aggressive aspect and attitude, halfway between the satyr and the dancers, belong to the wild.

It is difficult to make further interpretations because the piece is too isolated. If we had enough similar little amphorae, we could have been in a position to understand whether the figuration alludes to a ritual or a mythological event; to name the rider of the mule. The present situation does not allow this, because some of the features—the deformed foot, the type of mount—indicate the young rider as Hephaistos, known from other figurations of the return to Olympus, whereas other features—the accompanying figures, the location of the procession not between earth and Olympus but between rural and wild settings—exclude him. Thus two possibilities remain: either it is an allusion to a rite or it is a mythological event unknown to us, where the protagonist could be either Hephaistos in a situation not recorded in our sources or another mythological person.

However, the distinction between myth and ritual is perhaps less important than may seem: in the mind of the performers, a possible rite with a mule-rider would have had a mythological precedent from which the painter would have derived it. Also, the vase painter could intentionally have left this aspect in suspense in order not to place limitations on the spectator when reading the image as occasion demanded.

We can now summarise the situation as follows: for the vase painter—and evidently, for his clientele—the metamorphosis of the grapes into wine (in other words, the production of wine) was an event falling outside everyday life and was felt to be exceptional. Besides, the event on the vase deals with the antithesis between 'inside' and 'outside', in which the intermediate zone, which is rural, has a pre-eminent role. There is not only a male but also a woman taking part in this event. She is clearly different from the nymph who is the object of erotic aggression depicted on the Protocorinthian aryballos. The protagonist is a deformed rider, in some way subordinate in respect of the norm. All these elements, as well as others that are probably new, are also present in the myth of the Return of Hephaistos to Olympus in its first Athenian version, depicted on the François krater. For us it is most interesting that the subject was

earlier present in Corinth. The imagery and the rite of wine were taking shape not only in, nor first in Athens at the beginning of the 6th century.

Middle Corinthian symposium vases

In the first decades of the 6th century, in the pottery of Corinth, the grotesque dance that accompanies the rites of wine also tends to become a decorative subject on drinking vessels. This must certainly be connected with what happened in the same period in Athens, which, as we shall see, was then the most important production centre of kylikes. The fact that Corinthian cups belong almost exclusively to the Middle Corinthian period[31] is revealing. Of the 45 known and attributed pieces[32], of which more than half are of assured provenience, 14 come from Corinth, six from Taranto and four from Greece. A few other exemplars, now in the south of France[33] or in central Italy[34], could have been imported from those areas: a comparison with the distribution of Attic kylikes of the Komast Group and the Siana type[35] serves as a good illustration of how the two productions, one in Athens and the other in Corinth, found themselves in open competition, in the decades between 600 and 570 BCE[36].

The decoration confirms this. The typical decorative formula of the Corinthian kylikes remains the animal frieze. The most frequent subject on the inner medallion is the gorgoneion, often replaced by the ornament called a "whirligig", and sometimes by the female protome: we will return to this motif when we discuss the Attic cups from the second half of the century[37]. Among the subjects on the outer sides, the military themes clearly predominate, that is young horse riders and duelling hoplites, which indicate the age groups of the ephebes and young adult respectively. Some heroic battles of Theseus and Herakles and the wild boar hunt also appear. They

[31] Amyx 1988, 462f.
[32] Amyx 1988, 194–205.
[33] Amyx 1988, 203 no. 3: Béziers; 205 no. 5: Nîmes.
[34] Amyx 1988, 205 no. 4: Orvieto.
[35] KdS 61f.
[36] For the date of the Middle Corinthian period cf. Dehl-von Kaenel 1995, 42.
[37] Cf. p. 161ff.

are particularly suitable subjects for kraters; and there are some iconographical rarities, such as the suicide of Ajax[38]. Compared with the military themes, the Dionysian themes are less than half: they are dancers and symposiasts. We will reflect on this ratio, which is not only numerical, in respect of a similar ratio present in the kylikes of Painter C. A situation appeared not seen previously in pottery: a conceptual link between the dancers and a military subject, made explicit in the not uncommon combination of both subjects appearing on the same vase[39].

However, the most obvious link is still with the symposium, expressed in the types of vases featuring dancers: phiale[40]; skyphos[41]; mastos[42]; kylikes[43]; kraters[44]. A particularly informative example is a *plate*[45] on which the subjects of grotesque dancers and the symposium are combined in the same image. The vase painter does not provide enough data to determine with certainty what he considered the centre of the figuration: probably it could be the large krater on a stand with dancers on the left and a figure in a long garment holding what is perhaps a little jug on the right. Three dancers follow it, the central one with a deformed foot. On the left of the krater, the figures following the dancers face the other side so that they seem to be forming an independent group. We see three dancers, two of them with a drinking horn, and two persons with a long garment (one, in fact, has something that is like a polos or a diadem on her head), probably female[46]. The remaining space is filled with four figures: the last on the left is a banqueter who is proffering a sort of kan-

---

[38] Basel (loan): Amyx 1988, 197 no. 2; LIMC I, Aias I 122.

[39] Amyx 1988, pls. 81–83; Louvre MNC 674: 204 no. 3. Of particular interest in this last instance is the presence of a dolphin and a male transformed into a dolphin in the area beneath the handles: we will come back to this problem in respect of the kylix by Exekias in Munich on p. 185. The combination of a rider and a grotesque dancer also occurs on aryballoi: Würzburg H 5390: CV 1 pl. 31.7–10; Florence 81741: Seeberg 1964, 31 fig. 3.

[40] Amyx 1988, pl. 72.1.

[41] Amyx 1988, pl. 73.2.

[42] Amyx 1988, 502 no. 2. We will consider this vase in the form of a female breast below when discussing Attic examples, cf. p. 197ff.

[43] Amyx 1988, pls. 81–83; 204 no. 3.

[44] Amyx 1988, pls. 102.1; 121.1; cf. Seeberg 1995, 2 and his lists in Seeberg 1971.

[45] Athens 3680: Seeberg 1971, 44 no. 225; Amyx 1988, 229 pl. 97 (BCH 86, 1962, pl. 5).

[46] Seeberg 1971, 44 n. 2.

tharos to a dancer who is dipping a jug into a container placed on the ground. On the right a flute-player and the last dancer are following.

The situation evoked by this image is certainly the symposium in which many dancers took part in differentiated poses and roles. It is noteworthy that most of them have a phallus, although this does not affect their attitude—basically neutral—toward the female figures. The presence of these females is surprising in terms both of number and their calm and dignified attitude, in stark contrast to that of the dancers. Similar females also occur, as we shall soon see, in figurations of Dionysian dance and the symposium on contemporary Attic kylikes, where they seem to allude to the conceptual link between the symposium and weddings. The Corinthian plate in the National Museum of Athens is preserved well and so probably comes from a Greek necropolis: thus, the theme dealt with was not incompatible with the funerary world.

This Corinthian plate illustrates a situation—and the related ideological system—also familiar to Athenian vase painters, as we will see. However, it does not provide proof of direct iconographic dependence in one direction or the other. This is worth noting: in light of what has been established in respect of the mule rider, we can state that the grotesque dancer, his close relationship with the ritualised consumption of wine, and the link between symposium and wedding are not exclusive to Athens.

A *large Late Corinthian aryballos with a foot*[47] showing five dancers provides proof that in Corinth, Athens and Boeotia similar ideas circulated about characters from the Dionysian world and their relations to each other. The first on the left is a satyr, with equine ears and tail and a large phallus. Three typical grotesque dancers are following and the first two definitely have beards. The last on the right has a horsetail but neither have a beard nor a phallus. This image shows that satyrs and dancers belong to the same setting. It could allude to situations in which dancers—metaphorically and subjectively—turn into satyrs: a phenomenon expressed in an earlier phase[48], although through different means, by Attic and Boeotian painters, as we will see. *Fig. 16–17*

[47] Berlin 4509: Seeberg 1971, 46 no. 229; Amyx 1988, 620f.

[48] Late Corinthian dates from 570 to at least 550 BCE: Dehl-von Kaenel 1995, 42.

From a cultural point of view, it is important to note that there are strong similarities between images from different workshops, but not such as to make dependence of one on another plausible. We are faced with a matter of iconography and certainly of habit, not peculiar to a specific Greek polis, but generically Greek. Nor, obviously, is the divinity that presides over all this, namely Dionysos, exclusive to Athens.

Attic Komast cups

We know that around 600 BCE, the potters' quarter of Athens, the Kerameikos, was strongly influenced by Corinth. In fact, from the pottery of Corinth comes the subject of Dionysian dancers, the standard decoration of a new type of kylix, the introduction of which was also due to Corinthian influence. The choice of this decorative motif is all the more important if one considers Athenian pottery as a whole and throughout its evolution from the beginning of the 6th to the 4th century BCE. Indeed, the kylikes are by far the most important type of vase: they comprise of at least half the total production of high-quality pottery, whether figured or glaze-painted. However, they are important not only for their sheer numbers but especially for their level of artistry. Among all the shapes of Greek vases, the kylikes are most susceptible to changes of taste: during the 6th century, almost every generation produced a new variant. Among the potters and painters of kylikes, more often than elsewhere, we find artistic personalities who are especially original and innovative. To find the new subject of Dionysian dancers specifically on cups is thus a sure indication of their importance.

Fig. 18 The kylikes, labelled by Beazley as belonging to the Komast Group, are chronologically the first among Attic kylikes with black figures. The similar shapes of the 7th century, the so-called "skyphos-krater" and the lekanis (a shape between a plate and a bowl) were not identical in function in view of their size. Today, the dating of these cups tends to be later that proposed by Beazley and Payne[49], also because the date of the Middle Corinthian period has been lowered, a style from which these cups—and on this scholars seem to agree—

[49] Brijder 1983, 31.

derive[50]. The particularly late dating proposed by Brijder (for whom Attic kylikes of the Komasts precede the Siana type by less than a decade[51]), depends on his opinion that other types of Attic cups without figurative decoration (Types A–C) form a rigid sequence, and must necessarily precede the cups of the Komasts. However, this dating contradicts what we know about the stylistic development of designs in this period: unless this entire group is to be considered as intentionally archaising. For Beazley the oldest kylikes of the Komasts are contemporary with the early period Sophilos[52]. Among the more recent painters, the Palazzolo Painter has decorated cups of the next type, the so-called Siana cups, to be dated to the second quarter of the 6th century, and in a mature phase, the Painter of Athens 533 collaborated with Ergotimos, the potter of the François krater[53]. This means that the kylikes of the Komast Group were disseminated not after 580, but before and their production dates to between 585 and 570 BCE, that is, it corresponds to the mature Middle Corinthian style[54]. The first dancers on kylikes, then, would be more recent than those on the fragmentary dinos from the Agora that we considered above[55]. It is probable that in the years following 600 BCE, the potters of the Kerameikos, in search of a new type of drinking-vessel, would have received the idea from their Corinthian and Greek-Oriental colleagues. The success of the kylix of the Komast type would have been due to two characteristics: the elegant shape of the foot, which later would be emphasised in the cups of the Siana type and by the Little Masters, and the figurative decoration with grotesque dancers inspired by the decoration on Corinthian unguent-holders.

More than fifty vases have been attributed to the first painter of this group, *Painter KX*. Most of the vases are lekanides (open form), and the rest are skyphoi (two-handled cups) and kylikes[56]. In the

---

[50] The question of the dates of the Corinthian styles has been exhaustively discussed by Dehl-von Kaenel 1995, 32–42.

[51] Brijder 1983, 45. Cf. the critique of this system: Isler 1988, 134.

[52] Beazley 1944, 39. Now cf. also Kreuzer 1997, 343 and 1998, 265 (with n. 65).

[53] Callipolitis-Feytmans 1979, 210.

[54] Cf. other recent proposals for dating: KdS 46, with extremely wide margins for the individual types of cup, and Brijder 1997, 11 fig. 21, with very narrow margins.

[55] Athens, Agora P 334; discussed on p. 65ff.

[56] Beazley ABV 23–27. Now, cf. Brijder 1997 as well as Kreuzer 1997 and 1998, 253–256.

work attributed to his imitators, kylikes and skyphoi are better represented than lekanides, a symptom of the success attained by the new shapes[57]. The lekanis from this period should be considered a type of traditional vase, the kylix and the skyphos to be modern, as confirmed also by the decorative formulae: the former usually have a animal frieze typical of the 7th century, whereas the latter often have human figures.

Most of the skyphoi, also Corinthian in type, show a decoration called "komos": two men or a man and a youth dancing on each side of the vase. Its origin in the Corinthian Dionysian dancer is obvious, both from the way that the figures move and are dressed and from the rosettes that adorn the intervening spaces. On one skyphos there is also a flute-player among the dancers. In one example, similar persons form a procession led by a lyre-player while the other participants, youths and older men, hold various drinking vessels in their hands (karchesion, skyphos, drinking-horn, kantharos)[58]. This example shows that, like the dance—in the Corinthian precedents explicitly connected with wine rituals—the kind of vase that has the figuration, the skyphos, also belongs broadly to ritual (that is, not strictly sacred but also domestic). We have suggested the hypothesis that this setting was the symposium: of the three kylikes attributed to Painter KX, all in fragments, at least two, from the Heraion of Samos, have the first representation of a symposium in Attic painted pottery[59]. The link between these first Attic dancers and the ritualised consumption of wine is similar to the link with the Corinthian dancers, earlier and contemporary. Also similar is the erotic colouring of the figurations, where the difference in age between the participants is explicit. The choice of subject-matter for drinking cups rather than unguent holders tends to emphasise the connection with the symposium and not with athletics.

This tendency is more evident in the work of the younger colleague of Painter KX, Painter KY, who, instead of the lekanis, included the column krater, a clear symposium shape of Corinthian origin like the kylix or the skyphos[60]. The production of kraters

---

[57] Beazley ABV 27f.; Brijder 1983, 67ff.

[58] Athens 640: Beazley, Addenda 7 (26.21).

[59] Samos K 1196: Brijder 1997, 1f. fig. 2; Samos K 1280: Brijder 1997, 6 figs. 8f.

[60] Beazley, ABV 31–33; Brijder 1983, 73ff.

increased also in contemporary Corinthian pottery. Alongside elements of the animal frieze, the subject of dancers, virtually the only human figure, is by now present on almost all the vases of Painter KY: the kraters, skyphoi and the numerous kylikes (23 out of a total of 35 attributed pieces) as also occurs in the whole Komast Group.

The Corinthian derivation of the Attic dancers is evident also in the asymmetrical way in which their legs are often represented[61]: but it is difficult to decide whether this asymmetry still has a meaning of which the painter was aware or whether by then it had become an automatic formula. The same applies to the clothing: the Attic dancers are mostly represented naked, even if sometimes[62] all that remains of the close-fitting clothes are the incisions indicating the edges of the sleeves. There can also occur, in the same image, naked dancers together with clothed dancers[63] or else dancers with parts of their bodies in different colours[64]: all this could allude to a fluctuating identity, 'in suspense', of the dancers. As noted already, the dance itself is always a way of being provisional and undefined. The masculine connotation of the subject remains dominant right to the end, even if female dancers sometimes also appear among the male dancers, especially in the later stages of this production[65]. It has been noted in the past[66] that, by inserting a woman, the vase-painters wished to express the erotic element present in the Dionysian dance rather than the actual participation of women.

Like many Corinthian predecessors, the dancers often carry a drinking horn in their hands. The drinking-horn, which as we will see is also an attribute of Dionysos, is a primitive drinking vessel. With it the dance evokes not only the world beyond the human world, of animals and rosettes, but also a previous period, when vessels for drinking wine made by man—the skyphoi and kylikes—were not yet used. Instead, containers acquired through sacrifice from the animal realm were used: here we can mention the kothon with a

---

[61] Brijder 1983, pls. 3 c.d (Louvre C 10235), 4d (art market), 5b (Louvre E 741); Boardman 1990, fig. 23 (Athens 1109).

[62] Brijder 1983 pls. 1d.e (New York 22.139.22), 2a (Taranto 110550), d (Copenhagen 103), e (St. Petersburg B 1966 g), 6b (Prague 80–14).

[63] Brijder 1983, pls. 1e (New York 22.139.22), 4b (Rome, Villa Giulia 45707), 6d (Vienna 226).

[64] Brijder 1983, pls. 1d.e, 2a.d.e, 3a, 6b.c.

[65] Brijder 1983, 193; Brijder 1997, 9f. fig. 16 (Thasos 85.670).

[66] Isler-Kerényi 1991a, 295.

sacrificial caprid next to a container for communal wine[67]. The Dionysian dance, which, according to the hypothesis formulated in respect of the Corinthian evidence, celebrates the transition between successive male identities, evokes another no less important transitional phase: between successive moments in the collective journey from pre-civilized to civilized. The drinking-horn comes to have a meaning similar to the meaning of the primitive projectiles that, in many cases, are used by grotesque Corinthian dancers[68], as they were used by similar characters from Protoattic imagery[69]. It becomes a symbol of a human and cosmic condition that is earlier at least, if not primordial.

Confirmation of such a reading of the grotesque dancer as a being belonging, not only to 'outside' but also to 'before', lies in the assimilation in some cases of the dancer to the satyr, when represented with his face not as seen in profile but from the front[70]. In this way, the painters of Athens express what the painters of Corinth[71] and, as we shall see next, of Boeotia, intend to express by making dancers and satyrs share the same setting and take part in the same action.

Fig. 19–20

Grotesque dancers from Boeotia

Slightly later than the unguent containers (and the kylikes) made in Corinth and later than the Attic kylikes just discussed, a series of vases appeared which is stylistically similar to Athenian products, attributed to a workshop in Boeotia active between 575 and 550 BCE[72]. Fundamentally, they have two shapes: the tripod-pyxis and the kantharos. The exact function of the first is not known, perhaps it was an unguent-holder: as it is it is probable that it was not intended for daily use but for ritual purposes. The same applies to the kantharos, in contemporary images an attribute of Dionysos: not the most frequent type of vase in ceramics, which evokes the age of

[67] Würzburg 118. Cf. p. 23f.
[68] Seberg 1971, 3.
[69] Berlin 31573 (A 32); discussed on p. 10.
[70] Göttingen 549a (J.11); Brijder 1983, pls. 5c (Palazzolo) and d (Harvard 1925. 30.133).
[71] Cf. the late Corinthian aryballos in Berlin 4509 discussed above on p. 29.
[72] Beazley, ABV 29–31; Kilinski 1978; Kilinski 1990, 65; Boardman 1998, 214f.

heroes[73]. Beazley has catalogued six tripod-pyxides to which can be added a seventh, which emerged recently on the art market[74]. The particular interest of these containers lies in the fact that all present a variety of images—in six of the seven cases also the Dionysian dance—arranged according to a recurring pattern: each foot shows one or two superimposed panels and the border is also divided into three sectors[75], each of which portrays different subjects. Although they are different, these figurations give the impression of having a common link. What is this link?

The first example[76], which is particularly rich, has in the upper panel of the feet three images from the myth of Perseus pursued by the Gorgons. The lower panels portray scenes from athletics: wrestlers, boxers and a referee with a discus-thrower. On the cup of the vessel can be seen: a row of dancers led by a flute-player; a symposium (two male couples served by young cupbearers, with a female flute-player); and a boar being led to sacrifice. In the lower part of the cup and on the border we find couples of animals and fantastic beings (sphinxes, sirens) from the repertoire of the orientalising animal frieze. Like these, the hare hunt on the lid evokes the setting of the hunt and the wild. The figured panels are more accessible to us. The presence, on the same level, of the dance, the symposium and the procession, confirms the common ritual significance of the three situations and, like the images from the myth of Perseus, continuity or at least proximity in time. This mythological episode is an example of the arete of Perseus, the mythical model of the young athlete. We have already mentioned the possible connection between athletics and the symposium[77]. However, it is easy to identify a conceptual link between the ritual and mythological spheres as well, because a rite—as we have already noted in respect of the Corinthian mule-rider[78]—was an opportunity to remember the facts

[73] Isler-Kerényi 1990b, 45.
[74] Dallas 1981.170: White Muscarella 1974, no. 53.
[75] Which is reminiscent of the kothon from ancient Corinth in Würzburg, cf. p. 23f. above.
[76] Berlin 1727: Beazley, Addenda 8 (29.1); CV pls. 196 and 197, 5–6; Kilinski 1978, 177 figs. 4 and 5; Scheffer 1992, 119ff. figs. 1–5; Boardman 1998, 225 fig. 441.
[77] See p. 20f. above.
[78] Athens 664: cf. p. 24ff. above.

of the myth through recitations and songs. The figurations on this tripod-pyxis therefore belong to the mental world of the young athlete, where the piece also belongs due to its function. The combination of the elements from the world of nature, sport and symposium occurs in more abbreviated form on the other six pieces of the series.

Fig. 21 *The example found after Beazley's catalogue*[79] has three facing couples of beings on the border that belong to the orientalising animal frieze: sirens, panthers, young deer. In the intervening spaces—and this also applies to the panels adorning the feet of the vase—are painted rosettes of various kinds, Corinthian in origin, that confer value on the piece. Each of the three feet has a different subject. One of them shows two boxers fighting with a tripod in the centre indicating a prize. The figuration is particularly detailed and the age difference between the two boxers is clear: the one on the left has a beard and is built more heavily; the other has no beard and is slender.

The difference in age between the couple dancing on the second panel is also evident: even if the younger person has a beard: it is clearly shorter and the older partner's gesture unequivocally denotes the erotic nature of the dance. Two facts are noteworthy. To the dancers, unlike the boxers, who are certainly to be imagined as completely naked, and also unlike characters of the previous scene, the painter has added an engraved line to the arm, the only reminder of the close-fitting chitoniskos of many Corinthian and some Attic dancers. The second unusual fact is the way in which the legs of the younger dancer are portrayed, namely crossed. This feature associates it closely with the Corinthian and Attic dancers already discussed, and recurs, as we shall see, in the Laconian dancers of the middle of the century. The relationship of these Boeotian dancers with contemporary dancers from better-documented areas is therefore certain.

The last scene, containing a greater density and variety of rosettes that make it particularly precious, also shows two male characters: the older one carries a kantharos in his hand, the younger is holding a jug to his mouth. We can certainly surmise that the beverage is wine. However, the kantharos, a shape used more in ritual than in ordinary life, and the fact of drinking—or tasting—not from a

[79] Dallas 1981.170; see p. 35 above.

cup or a glass but from a jug, reflect not the classic situation of the symposium but an episode that is ritual in character. Our analysis of the motif of the dancers in Corinthian pottery has shown the relationship between the Dionysian dance (the dance of wine) and the symposium, between dance and the hunt, between dance and the sacrifice. The relationship between dance and the world of athletics has been deduced from the function of the unguent vases. In the vase that we are discussing, this latter relationship is explicit, whereas the relationship between dance and the symposium is less obvious.

As is well known, one characteristic of the Greek symposium is homoerotic love[80], implicitly present in all three scenes of this tripod-pyxis. The connection between homoerotic love and the phases in age is evident, apart from what is documented in written sources[81]. Therefore, it is into this set of ideas that we must insert another element present in the Boeotian repertoire (and as we shall see it is not at all foreign to the Attic repertoire), an element that has not failed to embarrass modern scholars: masturbation. *One of the tripods*[82] has the following figurations, possibly to be read in sequence: first, a couple of dancers of different ages, the younger of whom touches his older partner in the pubic region; second, a bearded person seen from the front, who is masturbating and is visibly proud of the effects of his act; third, a bearded dancer with a satyr's tail exhibiting an enormous phallus in front of a female. The metamorphosis of dancer into satyr can be induced, so it seems, intentionally[83]. *Fig. 22*

Confirmation of this comes from some *kantharoi* from the same workshop with the dance as a standard decoration (besides the animals and the fantastic beings of the animal frieze)[84]. Most illuminating is the first of the list[85] that has, arranged on both sides of *Fig. 23–25*

[80] Murray 1990, 7: ". . . The symposion became in many respects a place apart from the normal rules of society . . . The distinctive manipulation of Greek sexuality in the homosexual bonding of young males through symposion and gymnasion is one effect of this self-conscious separation".

[81] Devereux 1967; Cantarella 1992, 28–67. The view of Keuls 1985, 288f., is in agreement in respect of the phases, but seems to be anachronistically psychological.

[82] Athens 938: Beazley, ABV 30, 4 (incorrect description); Misdrachi-Capon 1989, 135 no. 66.

[83] Satyrs exhibiting phalloi of disproportionate size in front of female figures also occur on a Boeotian kylix which is more or less contemporary: Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1963.21: Kilinski 1990, 19. 8; CV 1 pls. 5.5–6 and 6.1–4; Boardman 1998, fig. 445.

[84] For the photographic evidence cf. Kilinski 1978 and also Maffre 1975.

[85] Munich 6010 (419): Beazley, Addenda 8 (30.6); CV 270.3–4.

the vase, a figuration of a Dionysian dance to the sound of the double flute: a dinos on a stand between the dancers indicates the presence of wine. The last of these dancers, who is masturbating, is facing the opposite direction: his tail and horse ears clearly indicate the metamorphosis that has taken place (but perhaps not visible to the others). The subject of masturbation in the context of ritual dance is also documented by a second kantharos, found in a tomb in Rhitsona[86].

The assimilation of dancers into satyrs is clearly depicted in another particularly detailed Boeotian figuration on a *trick-vase* (evidently a container for the symposium), contemporary with the pyxides and kantharoi from between 570 and 560 BCE, discussed above, which shows the dancers arranged as three couples as well as a flute-player and a satyr[87]. The two dancers positioned at the peak of the spout of the vase are carrying drinking horns in their hands and are moving around a container that is shaped like a wide kylix: the allusion to a wine ritual is clear. Of the following two on the left, one is holding a kantharos, while his partner's gesture seems to be indicating an erotic approach. The same gesture is shown, along with a drinking horn and masturbation, in the next dancing couple: the satyr's tail differentiates them. A small ithyphallic satyr, holding a drinking-horn, is moving in the space that has been created in front of the flute-player: if we suppose that the painter started in the area of the spout, it is possible that this could be a filler. But his presence, whether or not it is dictated by the need for decoration, still remains symptomatic and confirms the fact that dancers and satyrs mentally occupy the same space. However, the idea that this space is equivalent to a theatrical scene[88] does not seem to fit the style of the figuration, which is not naturalistic or episodic but concise and allusive. It is far more likely that it is a ritual space (such as the symposium), which by its very nature is both a performance and a show.

Fig. 26

[86] Thebes R 50.265: Beazley, Addenda 8 (30.8); Kilinski 1978, 184f. figs. 16f. The fragment with masturbation, which Beazley mentions (chezon dephomenos) and is barely distinguishable in the first publication of the piece (BSA 14, 1907–8, pl. 10a), is missing from the photo of the restored vase published by Kilinski, although he makes no comment on this (and neither does Maffre 1975, 449 n. 100)!

[87] Berlin 3366: CV 4 pl. 202, 1. 2; Hedreen 1992, pl. 41.

[88] This is the thesis of Hedreen 1992, passim.

The idea that the Dionysian dancer could be transformed into an ithyphallic figure or find that he has a tail, and so assimilate himself to a satyr, is expressed equally clearly, even if more cursorily, on a *Boeotian alabastron*[89] which, from its style, derives from Late Corinthian models.

The presence of the satyr in Boeotian imagery of the second quarter of the 6th century and its link with practices of masturbation is also attested by a *tripod pyxis with incised decoration*[90]. The figure is lacking a tail but has been given a name (Samon). However, the mythological context remains obscure: of the other two feet of the pyxis, one has a sphinx and the other has a vegetal motif. If there is a connection with the satyr, this is a generic mythical area of wild nature and perhaps funerary setting.

A *kantharos*, dating to the years around the middle of the 6th century, enriches the Dionysian iconography of Boeotian pottery[91]. It is important because it attests the presence also in Boeotia of the mule-rider, which we will discuss later in connection with the François krater. The arrangement of the subject-matter on the vase, with Dionysos in the centre of side A and the rider in the centre of side B, both moving in the same direction, recurs more richly executed on a column krater more or less contemporary by Lydos[92]. Both protagonists are surrounded by a couple of satyrs and nymphs. In these cases also the Boeotian painters appear more explicit than their Attic colleagues: here the ithyphallic nature of the satyrs is depicted in an exaggerated fashion. The same applies to the mule, emphasised by the little jug hanging on its phallus and by an especially tiny satyr who is touching it.

Let us see what the pottery from Boeotia tells us about the grotesque dancers. Compared to the Corinthian and Attic versions, the ritual connotation of the dance is emphasised: the dancers are usually[93] depicted resembling each other and often together with a

---

[89] Göttingen HU 533g: Hedreen 1992, pl. 46. Another way of alluding to the metamorphosis of dancers into satyrs is found on a late Boeotian kantharos from the Kabirion of Thebes (Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, figs. 118f.). Here too we see the ritualised dance, to the sound of the double-flute: however, the dancers, who are grotesque but not ithyphallic, are depicted as completely hairy.

[90] Berlin 3364: Hedreen 1992, pl. 44; LIMC VII 1, 661 under 'Samon' (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

[91] Dresden ZV 1466: Shapiro 1995, 6f. pl. 74a; LIMC IV, Hephaistos 142a.

[92] See p. 97f.

[93] But not always: Maffre 1975, 448ff. figs. 18–20.

flute-player[94]. The link with sexuality is more evident in this series than elsewhere, and it is essentially masculine sexuality: autoerotic and homoerotic. Female participation in these erotic activities is sporadic[95]. The link with the symposium is present, but more important is the generic Dionysian element expressed by the kantharos, a type of vase that is far more widespread than all the other contemporary productions. A possible link between this pottery and the sanctuary of Dionysos in Tanagra has been assumed also for other reasons[96].

The image that the painters from Boeotia give of the Dionysian dancer corresponds, in its main characteristics, to the image already deduced from contemporary Corinthian and Attic productions. However, in this case too, and in spite of the external stylistic influences to which these craftsmen had always been exposed[97], the impression given is that the figurative tradition was substantially independent and alluded to experiences that do not reflect those of others, but are the direct and genuine experiences of those who acquired and used these vases in Boeotia[98]. The setting of these experiences was probably not the institution of the symposium but more likely other Dionysian rituals. The meaning of the celebration was probably the same: to celebrate and remember the passage in a man's life from one age to another through the inescapable intermediate phases. This passage was evident in metamorphoses, in the assimilation to a satyr, in reverting to the wild: all through sexuality and in the realm of Dionysos.

Attic Siana cups

The generation of cups that follows the generation of the Komast Group, dating essentially to the second quarter of the 6th century, is named after a site in Rhodes which was excavated in the nineteenth century. In comparison with the preceding phase, there is

---

[94] Some examples: Kilinski 1978, figs. 5 (Berlin 1727), 7 (Athens 623), 9 and 10 (Athens 624), 20 (Karlsruhe B 1349). A lyre-player is also attested: Kilinski 1978 fig. 16 (Thebes 50.265).

[95] Athens, Canellopoulos Collection 11: Maffre 1975, 448 fig. 18.

[96] Kilinski 1978, 190f. Cf. also Mercati 1986/87, 110.

[97] Cook 1972, 102.

[98] This opinion is shared by Scheffer 1992, 137. Mercati 1986/87, 111f.

now a noticeable increase not only of kylikes produced but also of the decorative formulae used: the breadth of subject matter is greater and the repertoire differs from one painter to another. This increase and diversification should probably be connected with the growing export of Greek pottery to Italy[99]. Figurative decoration appears on both the outside of the vase and in the inner medallion: from this is born the possibility of identifying an interconnected dialectic between the various decorative areas of the cup.

The C Painter

The C Painter is one of the two most important painters of Siana cups, and chronologically the eldest[100]. His importance lies not only in the number of vases decorated by him but also in his role as pioneer and model for his colleagues. Unlike the Komast cups, two facts are noticeable: the extremely clear preponderance of military themes over the Dionysian ones (the ratio is about 2:1, as in the Middle Corinthian kylikes), and, within the Dionysian sphere, the far greater importance of the symposium as a subject than the Dionysian dance. The numerical relationships are comparable in the work of minor painters of the group such as the Painters of Taras and of Malibu. In fact, in the whole of Painter C's circle, the relationship seems to have changed in favour of military themes. However, if the combination of subject of the same cup is considered, the two areas can evidently be seen as linked.

On the other hand, the symposium is shaped like an extension of dance when both themes are present in the same image[101]. However, there are fewer dancers as the only decorative motif[102]. They remain important in our perspective because they document the permanence of the subject and its links with the world of the symposium during the second quarter of the 6th century. Here the problem concerns the combination, in the same image, of the symposium with a subject not met before: men of various ages and women standing in

[99] KdS 61f.
[100] For 'Corinthianising': Boardman 1974, 32.
[101] Brijder 1983, nos. 53 (Taranto I. G. 4339), 117 (Syracuse 49271), 176 (Bari 2959); Heesen 1996, no. 21 fig. 56 (Amsterdam 13.367).
[102] Brijder 1983, 55 pl. 17b (Taranto 50677), 245 no. 113 (Taranto 110341), pl. 35b (Bari 2959), pl. 57c (Syracuse 6028).

conversation[103]. We will solve this problem in respect of the Heidelberg Painter.

First, we will turn to the question of the combination of Dionysian and military subjects on the Middle Corinthian kylikes, a common combination on the cups of the C Painter and his circle. Evidently, as in the case of the Corinthian unguent-vases with Dionysian dancers, the combination has to be considered in light of the symposial function of these vases. To continue the line of thought, we propose the hypothesis that the condition of the young horse-rider and the hoplite, like the condition of the athlete, was considered typical of a certain phase of a man's life: the young horse-rider of the ephebic phase and military training facing entry to the symposium, the hoplite of the next phase, maturity, serving in defence of the polis.

The rareness of mythological themes in the work of C Painter and his circle is noticeable in comparison with the rest of Attic pottery of this period, especially compared with the other important painter of kylikes, the Heidelberg Painter. The repertoire is clearly dominated by images of a generic nature and it is symptomatic that, in the case of the wild boar hunt[104], it is impossible to decide whether it is the Calydonian hunt or one undertaken by an anonymous group, possibly inspired by a real hunt. Proof that the repertoire was chosen deliberately, and not due to a lack of knowledge of mythology, is found in the frequency of mythological figures—although isolated and therefore not involved in action—on the medallions. In this way, the C Painter is taken up in the tradition begun by the Komast cups, which would be taken up again in the second half of the century by the Little Master cups. This choice could be ascribed to the nature of the kylix, which is not communal but individual, and performs its communicative function on a more intimate level.

From this selection, which leaves room for the individual reading of motifs, the absence of Dionysos could be explained, who instead is conspicuous on the dinoi of Sophilos and the François krater, which can be dated to the same years. On some medallions[105], instead,

---

[103] Brijder 1983, nos. 59 (Berlin 1755), 162 (Birmingham Univ.), 163, 226 (Taranto 4478), 227, 228, 237 (Tübingen 4351[D 33]), 246 (Helgoland, Kropatschek collection).

[104] Brijder 1983, pl. 20 (Florence 3890).

[105] Brijder 1983, pls. 29e (Taranto I. G. 4980), 36d (Taranto 52205); Heesen 1996, no. 22 fig. 59 (Amsterdam 13.814).

there are satyrs, a motif present also in a class halfway between the Komast and Siana kylikes[106]. The vases manufactured in Boeotia have helped us to understand the identity of this satyr, and in the next chapter we shall see how this figure acquired its canonical form even in Athens.

Otherwise, the repertoire of the medallions of Siana cups of the C Painter and his circle comprises of individual animals, chief among them the cockerel, an erotic symbol[107]; fantastic beings such as sphinxes, sirens, winged horses, a chimaera; the warrior crouching, running or on horseback; among the heroes, Herakles in combat; among the deities, often the winged goddess, running[108], rarely Athena and a god with a fishtail. Later we will evaluate the importance of this last motif in greater detail[109]. The medallion is considered to be intermediate between the divine and human worlds, between 'inside' and 'outside': the satyr, shown to be particularly close to the human world, is also depicted in this way.

The Heidelberg Painter

The repertoire of the Heidelberg Painter is quite different. He is a painter specialising in Siana kylikes, and his work is dated a little later than the C Painter, either in the same quarter or after the middle of the century[110]. Even if the presence of the anonymous military sphere remains strong, mythological themes are consistently present: after Herakles, Dionysos is one of the best-loved mythological characters. His most frequent position is in the inner medallion. On only one of the vases known do we find him alone and running[111] following the traditional decoration of the disk: the C Painter prefers to have figures in movement, like the winged goddess of the dispute and of victory, warriors (or other figures) running or ready (like the kneeling hoplite) and animals or mythological beings in motion. One of the recurrent decorations of the contemporary Middle Corinthian

[106] Brijder 1983, pl. 7d (Basel, Cahn collection).
[107] Koch-Harnack 1983, 97–105.
[108] A deity of struggle in the broadest sense of the term, who could be called either Eris or Nike: Isler-Kerémyi 1969, 36.
[109] In ch. 5, in connection with allusions to the sea on cups with large painted eyes.
[110] Brijder 1997, 12f.
[111] Brijder 1991, pl. 113d (Taranto).

cups has a similar meaning: the vortex, a sort of wheel with half-moon spokes. However, it would be incorrect to state that the cups' medallions were reserved for subjects that evoke movement and change, because the gorgoneion, a petrifying subject, appears more often on Middle Corinthian kylikes. The connection between the two motifs will become clearer when we discuss cups fashionable after 540 BCE.

Fig. 27

A variant of the Dionysos motif, not in motion but static, occurs quite often on medallions of cups[112] of the Heidelberg Painter: the god, who usually has a drinking-horn in his hand, is confronted by a woman, sometimes veiled or with a wreath in her hand. The identity of this character, evidently different from the companions of dancers found on Komast cups—and from contemporary nymphs as partners of satyrs that we shall see in the next chapter—is discussed frequently[113]: we do not know whether she is Ariadne or Aphrodite. This is a problem raised by its iconographic antecedent, the wife facing Dionysos on a Cycladic krater[114]: we think it is more correct to leave the question unanswered, because a mythological name does not exclude identification with a common mortal. This is corroborated by the fact that the repertoire of images considered so far on Attic cups presents anonymous or prototype figures rather than mythological characters, which sets it on the human plane.

Proof is that the female figure in question is identical to those whom Brijder interprets as betrothed or young brides presented to the groom's father, which we find on the outer sides of some of these cups[115]. However, the proof raises a new problem if we consider function besides the iconographic fact. The cups clearly belong to the world of the symposium, which is masculine by definition as shown on this type of vase by the prevalence of military, sport and heroic themes[116]. How, then, can we explain the presence of wives, whether mortal or divine, in this repertoire?

At this point, we shall leave iconography to consider the symposium as an institution. In respect of the Corinthian aryballoi with Dionysian dancers, we have proposed the hypothesis of a concep-

---

[112] To the cup medallions add a contemporary plate: Leiden XVa 3 (LIMC III, Dionysos 709).
[113] Brijder 1991, 357ff.
[114] Melos, Archaeological Museum: discussed on p. 7f.
[115] Brijder 1991, 394f.
[116] Stein-Hölkeskamp 1992, 42.

tual link between the worlds of the athlete and of the symposium, which could be understood as typical of successive phases of a man's life. Just as typical of specific phases of a man's life is the wedding. In fact, one of the ceremonies immediately preceding a wedding was the symposium[117] and previous symposia had already provided the occasion for future fathers or fathers-in-law to choose sons-in-law or daughters-in-law. One of the mythological models of this situation is, for example, the episode where Herakles meets Iole at the symposium given by Eurytos, which is represented on the well known Corinthian krater in the Louvre[118]. Among the so-called visitors[119] in symposia represented on cups of the circle of C Painter female figures are sometimes present.

Thus, the woman facing Dionysos in the medallion of the cups could evoke the status—future or already attained—of the head of the oikos and the father of legitimate sons of the male user of the cup. At least one of these kylikes[120] shows on one of its outer sides a scene introducing the bride. Among the other examples known to us, images of war and athletics[121] are combined with these medallions. Nor is the combination with Herakles fighting with the centaur Nessos accidental[122], a mythological episode with nuptial connotations even if in tragic mode. The same hero fighting with the Nemean lion[123] is instead a mythical model of youthful arete and refers rather to the military or athletic sphere.

Dionysos is depicted not only with a bride but also with a male, traditionally called Ikarios, who appears as one of his alter egos[124]. *Fig. 28* A new and far more convincing interpretation identifies him as Peleus, based on his similarity with that person on the dinos by Sophilos and the François krater[125]. This identification is plausible, because, as we shall see better in respect of the large vases just mentioned,

---

[117] Oakley/Sinos 1993, 22. On the meaning of nuptial rites cf. Calame 1996, 130ff.

[118] Louvre E 635: LIMC V, Iole I 1.

[119] As Brijder 1983, 176 calls them.

[120] Brijder 1991, no. 369 (Cambridge 30.4).

[121] Brijder 1991, no. 407 (Munich 7739); LIMC III, Dionysos 710.

[122] Brijder 1991, no. 385 (Taranto I. G. 4408).

[123] Brijder 1991, 424 (Thasos 59.106).

[124] Brijder 1991, no. 367 (Louvre CA 576); Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 253 fig. 103. This reading is doubted by D. Gondicas in LIMC V 1, 646f. (s.v. Ikarios) but maintained by Angiolillo 1997, 145–148.

[125] Danali-Giole 1992.

Peleus is one of the mythological models for anyone about to start a family in anticipation of legitimate children[126]. It is worth remembering that Peleus pursuing Thetis, clearly a nuptial topic, occurs frequently in the repertoire of the C Painter[127], just as the topic of Peleus giving the young Achilles to Chiron is among the themes of the Heidelberg Painter[128]. The presence of anonymous spectators[129], both here and in other mythological images, shows that these events were presented as paradigms[130].

In turn, Peleus is identified with Dionysos, who is also a husband and a father[131], which explains the mirrored presentation of the two figures on medallions of cups. Logically, when we speak of Dionysos in this context, the hypothesis implies a margin of uncertainty for the modern reader of the image[132]: the same uncertainty we experience about the name of the woman and about certain figurations that may or may not be mythological, such as the wild boar hunt of the C Painter[133]. This uncertainty is inherent in the structure of the images on vases and distinguishes them from other images (for example, wall paintings): it stems from the fact that these images must allow more than one reading to be functionally successful, just as the actual vases could have been used for more than one occasion. We will have the opportunity to return to this topic.

Besides the two types discussed, Dionysos also appears with satyrs[134], satyrs alone[135] and Dionysian dancers on the medallions of the Heidelberg Painter's cups[136]. The dancers also occur, as in the workshop of the C Painter, among symposiasts on the outsides of some of these cups[137].

---

[126] However, it is not necessary to resort to a supposed privileged connection of Peleus and Dionysos with Boeotia: Danali-Giole 1992, 116.
[127] Brijder 1983, 131f.
[128] Brijder 1991, 382.
[129] Brijder 1991, 337f.
[130] Fehr 1996, 790 and 831–833.
[131] Shapiro 1989, 92–95.
[132] Cf. Brijder 1991, 357: "The identification of the figure as Dionysos is almost certain".
[133] Brijder 1983 no. 102 (Florence 3890).
[134] Brijder 1991, pl. 130c: it is interesting to note that the satyrs are of different heights and therefore of different ages, as on the Boeotian trick-vase already considered on p. 38.
[135] Brijder 1991, pl. 145f (Athens, Agora P 6059).
[136] Brijder 1991, pl. 145e (Histria V 10048).
[137] Brijder 1991, nos. 366 (Taranto 110339) and 421 (Pesaro, Moccia collection).

The well-known *kylix by the Heidelberg Painter in Copenhagen*[138] which, in the medallion, bears the vortex as its only decoration, shows Dionysos among satyrs and female dancers on the outer sides. The two images are not identical. In the centre of the one side, an ithyphallic satyr is playing the flute, and in front of him, Dionysos is engaged in a particularly lively dance. He is followed on the left by a woman in a short garment, exactly like the female companions of the dancers on late Komast cups, and a satyr. On the right he is followed by a satyr between two female dancers who are similar to each other. Generally speaking, Dionysos in movement is far less common than him standing in the centre of the image: it appears after the Dionysos on the François krater (who is not dancing, however, but moving forward impetuously) and a little before the Dionysos on an amphora by the Amasis Painter[139]. In the centre of the other side, there is another satyr playing music. On the right he is flanked by Dionysos with a drinking horn (as on the medallions), and on the left by a dignified standing female. Satyrs and female dancers in skimpy clothing complete the scene on both sides. The meeting between Dionysos and the woman is probably the same as on the medallions: using other material, we have to examine how this could happen in the presence of the thiasos. Noteworthy is also the particular role the painter gives to the satyr in both images. *Fig. 29–30*

To conclude the contribution of the two great workshops of Siana cups to Dionysian iconography: in the work of Painter C we must emphasise the link between the symposial and the military sphere and the introduction of the satyr in some medallions. The new element to emerge from the cups by the Heidelberg Painter is the relationship between Dionysos, the symposium and weddings. However, it is only a novelty relatively speaking, because, as we have seen, the oldest representation of Dionysos, on the monumental Cycladic krater from the end of the 7th century[140], describes the god as a patron of a bride. The Attic kylikes portray Dionysos as a nuptial deity in the world of the symposium, which is masculine: the Cycladic figuration in comparison seems to be orientated towards the female world. The reference to the Cycladic repertoire, in which Dionysos

[138] Copenhagen 5179: Brijder 1991, no. 336; LIMC III, Dionysos 298 and 712.
[139] Würzburg L 265, discussed on p. 133.
[140] Melos, Archaeological Museum, cf. p. 7f.

has a comparable role to Hermes Psychopompos[141], shows an important trait of Dionysos, which distinguishes him from all the other gods with the exception of Hermes: he is set on a level that is particularly close to the human level. He is one of the few divine persons, apart from Hermes, to appear on the medallions of these kylikes; similarly, Herakles is almost the only hero to appear more than once[142].

Other Siana cups and a contemporary skyphos

Among the last cups of the Siana type, the examples by *Lydos* are important, because they introduce a new type of Dionysian decoration. One kylix[143] is the best preserved of a series: in the medallion there is a cockerel (elsewhere a panther), and on the two outer sides there are alternating male and female dancers. The males are moving similarly to their predecessors, but have normal proportions: they are neither fat nor deformed. Moreover, they are all ephebes in age. At first glance they are similar to satyrs surrounding Dionysos with dancing women. He is standing and holding a drinking horn, while facing a female of the nuptial-matronly type on another kylix[144]. The close relationship between the dancers on the Taranto cup and the satyrs on the Heraklion cup is evident, not explicitly through a metamorphosis as on the Boeotian vases already considered[145], but indirectly through the female companions, who are identical on both vases. These are dancing women who, unlike the female dancers by the Heidelberg Painter[146], are wearing long garments and animal skins: the same dress that we find, more accurately executed, on a famous krater by Lydos[147]. The identities of the female companions of the dancers and the female companions of the satyrs are similar,

---

[141] Isler-Kerényi 1990b, 44f.

[142] Besides Herakles, Ajax is attested with the corpse of Achilles (Brijder 1991, pl. 112a [Florence 3893]), Achilles pursuing Troilos (Brijder 1991, pl. 132f. [Louvre CA 1684]), Bellerophon on Pegasus (Brijder 1991, pl. 134c [Cab. Méd. 314]).

[143] Taranto I. G. 4412: Beazley, Addenda 32 (113.74); Tiverios 1976, pl. 12.

[144] Heraklion, Archaeological Museum no. 217: Beazley, Addenda 32 (113.71bis); Tiverios 1976, pl. 14b–17a (seated sphinx in the medallion).

[145] See p. 38.

[146] Copenhagen 5179: cf. p. 47. above.

[147] New York 31.11.11: cf. p. 97f.

and the fact that they belong to the world of the wild allows them all to be called Nymphai. Kleitas, in the return of Hephaistos on the François krater, provides more information about the Nymphai in a Dionysian context[148]. It must be stressed, however, that Lydos, like the Heidelberg Painter before him, draws a clear distinction between these Nymphai, female companions of dancers and satyrs, and the female figure of the nuptial-matronly type who is in front of Dionysos: evidently, she is identical on the medallions of kylikes of the Heidelberg Painter. In the Dionysian iconography from the middle of the century, new trends can be observed: on the kylikes, the mythical thiasos replaces the komos and the subject tends to move from the repertoire of cups to large vases, such as amphorae and kraters.

The persistent link between the dancers and satyrs of Lydos and the tradition of Corinthian Dionysian dancers (and therefore between the Attic kylix and the Corinthian unguent-vase) is confirmed by a strange motif found on *medallions of cups* ascribed to his workshop[149]. It is the protome of an ephebe (combined, on the outside of the vase, with athletic figurations), which immediately recalls the same protome, facing one of a mature man, on the gigantic Corinthian aryballos of Würzburg. We interpret it as an allusion to the two typical male roles in the symposium[150]: as ephebe-eromenos and as symposiast-erastes.

A similar formula to the one on the outside of the kylix by Lydos in Heraklion occurs on a *special type of cup* (a Merrythought cup with buttons on the handles), dated to between 560 and 550 BCE[151]. Dionysos, standing in the centre, carries a drinking horn and a branch of ivy like on the skyphos that we will consider next and on the krater of Lydos mentioned already, where the god matches the mule-rider[152]. From this context, the satyr appears to be following him, carrying an enormous, full wineskin, an allusion to the symposium that is about to be celebrated. The other figures are ithyphallic satyrs dancing with wild nymphs. Under each of the handles

---

[148] Chap. 3, pp. 81 and 104.
[149] Taranto 20273: Beazley, Para 44 (112.69); Taranto I. G. 4492: Beazley, Addenda 32 (113. 73); Tiverios 1976, 156.
[150] Würzburg L 110: cf. p. 21 above.
[151] Munich 2016: Beazley, ABV 199 above; KdS 395, 70. 3.
[152] New York 31.11.11.

a satyr is depicted masturbating: a motif already met in Boeotian pottery[153], which is related to the metamorphosis of a dancer into a satyr, and implicitly, of an ephebe into a mature man. A *cup of the same type*, but earlier and signed by Ergotimos, the potter of Kleitias[154], shows on one side the almost unique figuration of the capture of Silenos and on the other a figuration, which is also extremely accurate, of three dancers, the one in the middle being an ephebe playing a flute and the two on the sides bearded and holding drinking-horns.

Fig. 31

A lesser-known piece, a *skyphos* from a rich tomb, is close. In all likelihood it is of a woman from Ialysos in Rhodes[155]. The figurations on the two sides of this cup are similar to those by the Heidelberg Painter just considered. In the centre of side A is a female turned to the left towards Dionysos, who is in front of her with an ivy shoot in his right hand and a drinking horn in his left. A satyr follows Dionysos and two more satyrs fill the space behind the woman. They are behaving differently from the satyrs on the Copenhagen kylix: in rushing towards the edge of the image, one of them is raising his arm to greet Dionysos, evidently having appeared suddenly. On the two sides, closing the scene, one male on the right, two on the left, are cloaked and holding lances. The beard of the one on the right is clearly shown to be growing: a precise indication of his youthfulness. This composition is repeated, in essence, on the other side of the vase, even if there are three young onlookers[156] and two satyrs behind Dionysos, one of them ithyphallic. The way the last-mentioned is moving, and the lines between the arms and shoulders of the satyrs, are reminiscent of the grotesque dancers. Original to these images are the garlands worn by the satyrs on their chests, like the symposiasts in the act of masturbating by the Amasis Painter[157], evoking a ritual situation.

The satyrs of the skyphos preserve more grotesque and wild features than the satyrs of the Heidelberg Painter and Kleitias, making

---

[153] See p. 37f. above.

[154] Berlin 3151: Beazley, Addenda 22 (79 Para 30).

[155] Rhodes 11131: Beazley, Para 90. 1; Clara Rhodos 8, 112–125: the golden diadem, the mirror and the hydria are typical accessories of female burials; Malagardis/Iozzo 1995, 201 and pl. 50a.

[156] G. Jacopi's description (Clara Rhodos 8, 112–125) is not completely clear and the illustration is poor.

[157] Boston 10.651: cf. on p. 188f. below.

them seem older than they really are: the same style, between clumsy and genuine, is also noticeable among the other figures. The date of this skyphos remains open: the comparison of profiles, beards and feet with those of other Attic satyrs from the first half of the 6th century, to be discussed in the next chapter—on the dinos of the Agora, the fragments by Sophilos, from Naukratis and Cortona—indicate an earlier phase than the satyrs of the François krater and the Boeotian kantharos with the metamorphosis from dancer to satyr[158].

The female figure in the centre of the image could be related to the nature of the find-spot: the rite that is being alluded to could belong to a nuptial context. This vase confirms, then, the fact noted in respect of the cup of the Heidelberg Painter in Copenhagen, which we will turn to next: the meeting between Dionysos and a woman occurs in the presence of satyrs. In addition, the anonymous, on-looking youths turn this meeting into an event that is not so much individual as it is public and paradigmatic.

Regarding the satyrs the decoration of the kylix from the same grave context[159] (on one of its sides are Amazons on horseback and the combat of Herakles, and on the other, Greeks with Amazons) is noticeable. On the shield of an Amazon on side B, an emblem can be seen representing a satyr's head[160]: he is attributed the aggressive mode—here not erotic but martial—the boar and the bull express in the other two emblems of the same image[161].

In the summary of what Attic kylikes from the second quarter of the 6th century tell us about the world of Dionysos, the link that the painters establish between the symposium and weddings (as seen from the male point of view) is significant, although it is missing

[158] Instead, Malagardis/Iozzo 1995, 201, seem to propose a date towards the middle of the century.

[159] Rhodes 15430: Beazley, Addenda 53 (198.1).

[160] Its forms seem to be more developed than those of the satyrs on the skyphos, but in fact they are similar to the protomes of satyrs on oinochoai of the circle of the Gorgon Painter (Beazley, ABV 10.1 and 2): the date of this kylix also remains rather vague and at the earliest could be placed a few years before 550 BCE.

[161] This way of reading is confirmed by other examples of satyr-masks on shields: of Enkelados in a Gigantomachy by the Lydos circle (Beazley, Para 48), of Achilles who plays dice in the famous figuration by Exekias (Frontisi-Ducroux 1995, 153 fig. 15; LIMC VIII Suppl., Silenoi 187) and finally, in the battle of the Giants of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi.

from the contemporary figurations from Corinth and Boeotia. The language of these images, intended for individuals, is always allusive and concise, and so not easily accessible: but, the connection between the symposium and weddings can only mean the involvement of Dionysos in the nuptial event as well. This nuptial aspect of Dionysos is expressed far more explicitly, in fact in cosmological dimensions, in the Dionysian figurations of the large vases for collective use that we will examine in the next chapter. Here the presence of satyrs at weddings will become clearer.

Laconian cups with Dionysian images

Before considering the great vases of this period, it will be worth examining a contemporary pottery connected with both Corinthian and Attic production, but which in addition has stylistic links with Ionia. Here too, with two exceptions[162], they are cups, the predominant shape in this pottery, demanded however, so it seems, more by the foreign than by the local market[163]. Most of the Laconian kylikes belong to the decades before and after the middle of the century: all the Dionysian subjects that interest us are in fact to be dated between 575 and 525 BCE, and so are contemporary with or slightly later than the Middle Corinthian and Attic versions of the C Painter and the Heidelberg Painter.

The Dionysian themes are usually[164] found in the medallion. The medallion of Laconian cups is more important in the decorative system of the vase than in the Corinthian and Attic kylikes: not only is a single field for figured subjects the rule, but it is particularly spacious and often portrays complex scenes, with more characters. Unlike Attic cups, frequently high-ranking deities like Zeus are represented. However, it is difficult to pick out a preferred theme, because, compared with the small number of Laconian kylikes known[165],

---

[162] The Rhodes hydria 15373 and the dinos Louvre E 662, to be discussed on p. 101.

[163] Stibbe 1972, 11ff. The preferred drinking vessel used in Sparta was not the kylix but the lakaina, a cup in the form of a kantharos but with horizontal handles. The lakaina never has figured decoration.

[164] Symposium on the outside of the cup: Stibbe 1972, no. 37 pl. 19. 1 (Samos K 1445); dancers: Stibbe 1972, no. 64 pl. 26.7 (Sparta).

[165] In Stibbe's catalogue there are 370 Laconian vases, and of these much fewer

the subjects are many and diverse[166]. From the subjects we consider Dionysian because they are connected with the ritualised consumption of wine, Dionysos himself is missing, although the mule-rider is present. The *symposium*[167], one of the Dionysian figurations on the human level, is well documented and is even one of the earliest. Male and female players of the flute and other instruments, as well as the young cupbearer certainly belong to the context of a symposium. There are fewer pot-bellied dancers in respect of the symposium in the work of the first painters, but they tend to predominate after the middle of the century. On the human level, the military theme is second in numerical importance, but emerges only gradually with the passing of decades: the ratio between the Dionysian and military themes is thus inverted in respect of the Corinthian and Attic kylikes. Besides Dionysos, the Dionysian bride of Cycladic origin is also missing.

The *first formula among those adopted for the symposium*[168] is original. The five guests are arranged in a circle in the round interior of the cup, around a rich floral motif in the centre. Each of them is leaning on his left arm and has a bowl in his right; the food is indicated by tiny circles (imagined as arranged on a small table placed next to the kline) near the left hand. There is no difference in age: they all have beards and are dressed in the same way. The rhythm is interrupted by a large dinos on a stand with a young cupbearer holding a small jug and a wreath in his hand. In the space remaining above the symposiasts, two sirens and two erotes with wreaths in their hands are flying around. In addition, there are two drinking horns, imagined to be hanging from the walls. No less rich and structured is *another representation of the symposium* on one of the oldest Laconian kylikes, in which the symposiasts are paired with females or young males and where erotes are flying around[169]. In the lower band, Dionysian dancers are represented: in Sparta, as in Athens

---

than half are not kylikes. Most of the cups in the catalogue are small fragments. There are about 130 kylikes complete enough for their decoration to be recognised.

[166] Stibbe 1972, 51f., 93, 109f., 125f., 154f.

[167] Illustrated examples: Stibbe 1972, no. 13 pl. 6.1 (Louvre E 667), no. 191 pl. 58 (Samos K 1203 etc.), no. 195 pl. 62.3 (Naples).

[168] Louvre E 667: Stibbe 1972, no. 13 pl. 6.1, dated to around 565 BCE (Stibbe 1972, 50).

[169] Samos K 1203: Stibbe 1972, no. 191 pl. 58f. Date given by Stibbe 1972, 30: around 565, first phase of the Arkesilas Painter.

and Corinth, the Dionysian dance and the symposium were felt to be related themes. In *another example of the Laconian symposium*[170], a set of communal vases have been placed next to the dancers at the feet of the kline with a heterosexual couple[171].

The most interesting Laconian representation of the symposium comes from recent excavations at Lavinium[172]. The medallion is divided into three bands, the largest of which portrays the symposium; in the lowest, Dionysian dancers can be seen in various poses on the two sides of the krater. On the kline is a male couple: both have beards, but not of the same length, and their hairstyles are different. The symposiast on the right is evidently the erastes, the one on the left (on whom a bird has settled) is the eromenos[173]. In front of the bed is a table with food and vases: a kantharos and a kylix. Under the table, we see the stool with footwear, two seated dogs, two eagles in flight and a bird on the ground. At the two sides of the kline are ephebes of differing height, among them an flute-player: from the top of the head of the two smaller figures emerge vegetal elements as is also the case with Laconian young horse-riders[174], perhaps an allusion to their heroic nature (in the most generic sense of the term). The field above the central couple is taken up by three small winged figures with beards and two eagles in flight. At various points, climbing lizards and little serpents are also visible. The outside of this kylix has what appears to be episodes of animal hunts, one of them a cockerel.

Fig. 32

The erotic note is more explicit in the Laconian than in the Corinthian and Attic images, due to the presence of erotes[175] and a cock-

---

[170] Brussels R 401: KdS316, 54.1; Stibbe 1972, no. 192.

[171] Cab. Méd. 192: Stibbe 1972, no. 228 pl. 80.3 and Louvre E 662: Stibbe 1972, no. 313 pl. 111.1.

[172] Pratica di Mare E 1986: Boardman 1998, 206 fig. 414. Probably to be attributed to the Naukratis Painter.

[173] My reading differs from the one in the publication, where they are identified as the Spartan twins Kastor and Polydeukes: Castagnoli 1975, 366.

[174] Stibbe 1972, nos. 306 (London B 1) and 307 (Louvre E 665), pls. 108, 1 and 2.

[175] Erotes are already portrayed in other scenes, e.g. Stibbe 1972, nos. 25b pl. 13. 1 (Samos), 23 (London B 4: with a goddess), 307 pl. 108.2 (Louvre E 665: with a young horseman), 312 (Taranto 20909: with kithara player and symposiast). Probably Eros, but the primitive Eros, and so shown with a beard, as for example in Stibbe 1972, nos. 2 pl. 1.5 (Samos K 1045); 9 pl. 5.1 (Boston 64.1459) is, in my opinion, also the winged person running, traditionally called Boread: Isler-Kerényi 1984 (now cf. Kunze-Götte 1999, 54ff.). For a confirmation see Calame 1996, 202ff.

erel, a typical gift of homoerotic relationships[176]. In the second image, the young symposiast holds one in his hand, and on the outer side of the same image, another is about to be caught[177]. The cockerel often recurs in Laconian ornamental repertoire, a distinctive feature of this pottery[178]. More frequent than elsewhere, but less obvious, the sirens, who sometimes assist in the exploits of heroes, can be found[179].

Dancers are a recurrent subject in Laconian kylikes: they occur in the oldest phases[180] as well as in the more recent[181]. The subject of ephebes is related. They perform the rituals of wine, as the similarity of figurations shows[182]. More often than with other dancers, they are of different heights, with or without beards, and so are of varying ages[183]: the homoerotic tone is clear in this subject as well. The presence of Dionysos is implicit in the ritual nature of the consumption of wine and in the kantharos[184].

Concerning the *satyrs*, there are no allusions to a satyr-like metamorphosis as found on the Boeotian vases. However, the idea is closely related on a broken cup from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia near Sparta[185], which has an extremely obscene erotic figuration, including public defecation. The protagonists are dancers who are typologically very close to contemporary Corinthian dancers. The person positioned to the left of the handle is hairy and endowed

---

[176] Koch-Harnack 1983, 97–105.

[177] It also occurs on the outside of the cup with a symposium Louvre E 667: Stibbe 1972, pl. 6.2.

[178] Stibbe 1972, passim: there are many examples. The cockerel is also present in the episode of Achilles, Troilos and Polyxena: Stibbe 1972, no. 294 pl. 100.1 (from Samos).

[179] New York 59.15: Stibbe 1972, no. 300 pl. 104.1 (hero fighting a bull).

[180] Brussels A 1760: Stibbe 1972, no. 141 pl. 45.1 (Boread Painter, 575–565 BCE); Samos K 2522: no. 293 pl. 98 (Rider Painter, shortly after 560 BCE).

[181] Leipzig T 2177: Stibbe 1972, no. 314 pl. 112; Samos K 1960: no. 315 pl. 112 (Rider Painter, group E, circa 535); Vatican, Guglielmi Coll.: no. 272 pl. 90.2 (style of the Hunt Painter, third quarter of the 6th century).

[182] Cf. London B 3: Stibbe 1972, nos. 308 pl. 109.1 with Leipzig T 2177; 314 pl. 112. To these can be added the group comprising of a dancer, a krater and a flautist on the dinos Louvre E 662: no. 313 pl. 111.1, which will be discussed again on p. 101.

[183] Cab. Méd. 192: Stibbe 1972, no. 228 pl. 80.3; Samos K 2522: no. 293 pl. 98; private collection: no. 223; Florence 3879: no. 227 pl. 80.1.

[184] Sparta: Stibbe 1972, no. 244 pl. 85.4. The kantharos, a Dionysian symbol, is still in vogue in the pottery of the 5th century: Stibbe 1994.

[185] Pipili 1987, 65f. fig. 95; Stibbe 1996, pl. 16.2.

with an oversized phallus: it is reminiscent of one of the two wild persons on the little Corinthian amphora with a mule-rider.

The well-known fragment of a medallion showing *the capture of Silenos* has, on its outside, perhaps not accidentally, a symposium scene[186]. The event takes place near a fountain, particularly significant for connecting satyrs with the female world, as we shall see below in the discussion on Achilles, Troilos and Polyxena on the François krater[187].

Besides the capture of Silenos, only one other mythological subject occurs in Laconian ceramic art, the *mule-rider*[188]. The figure occupies the half of a medallion of a cup that, externally, is almost lacking in decoration. The other half shows the capture of a lion by a mature male using a noose. In the surrounding empty field are a swan and a little owl. This pattern is new and unique[189]: the lion's opponent is certainly not Herakles, who is usually strangling a lion. In fact, he is not a real hero: his purpose is not to defeat the lion, but to capture it. Even the lion seems surprised. The scene is clearly paradoxical: the very antithesis of the heroic deed.

Similar paradoxical features also mark the depiction of the mule-rider when compared with the iconography preceding the more famous version on the François krater[190], which is elder than the Laconian cup by a decade at most. The most striking feature is the way the rider sits on the mule[191], which makes the deformation of both feet conspicuous: the mount and rider are the complete antithesis of the young hero on horseback on other Laconian kylikes[192] and on many vases by contemporary makers, including Troilos, the mythological prototype of the young hero[193]. This rider would not be able to move without a mount: the mule is only a humble means of trans-

---

[186] Berlin WS 4: Stibbe 1972, no. 292, Pipili 1987, no. 98; the same subject, with the dance motif, recurs in Rome, Villa Giulia 57231 (Stibbe 1972, no. 342; Pipili 1987, 39 no. 97) and perhaps for a third time: Pipili 1987, 39 no. 99.

[187] Florence 4209: see p. 81f.

[188] Rhodes 10711: Stibbe 1972, no. 190; Clara Rhodos 3, 120 fig. 115; LIMC IV, Hephaistos 132.

[189] Some proposals for reading are mentioned by Stibbe 1972, 105f.

[190] Athens 664: see above on p. 24ff.; Florence 4209: see on p. 82ff.

[191] Hephaistos is portrayed in a similar way on the dinos by Sophilos, London 1971.11–1.1: see on p. 73.

[192] Stibbe 1972, nos. 306 (London B 1), 307 (Louvre E 665) pl. 198.1–2.

[193] Villa Giulia: Stibbe 1972, no. 291 pl. 96.1. On the concept of the mythological prototype cf. p. 111.

port. Our deformed rider proffers a drinking horn towards the mouth of a wineskin carried on the shoulders of a male following him. This figure is reminiscent of the one carrying a long vine-shoot on his shoulder, found on the little Corinthian amphora discussed above[194], on which however the rider is young, not mature. Here too we have a scene connected with the production of wine: the consumption of wine is the complete antithesis of the symposium, both for the social connotation of the protagonists and for the method and time. The drinking horn in the rider's hand sets the episode in an archaic period or in a rural setting: outside and before the polis. Further on we shall return to the problem of the relationship between this rider and his mythological prototype, Hephaistos[195]. The Laconian version confirms what we have already said about the little Corinthian amphora: the mule-rider is not exclusive to Athens but generally widespread in Greece.

To summarise, the Dionysian repertoire of the Laconian kylikes is not fundamentally different from the repertoire of the Corinthian and Attic cups. The absence of Dionysos is prominent compared with the Heidelberg Painter, but not with the C Painter. The symposium and the Dionysian dance do not appear in the same image but are evidently considered to be related: the kantharos, which is also a Dionysian symbol in Laconia, can occur in both. Unlike contemporary productions where the mule rider is a subject for dinoi and kraters, in Laconia we find it on a kylix: a detail that should be connected with the special function of the Laconian medallions concerning elaborate images. We shall return to Laconian ceramic art when considering the community vases.

Dionysian subjects in Ionian pottery

Clownish *dancers* of a type derived from Dionysian dancers of the Corinthian aryballoi—but slimmer and with a different hairstyle—are the most common decoration on Chian chalices. They are drinking vessels similar to the kylix. From an archaeological viewpoint, this vessel is important because it was exported extensively, from the

[194] Athens 664: see above p. 24f.
[195] On p. 89f.

Greek settlements on the Black Sea to the Mediterranean coasts of the Middle East and Africa. Dancers belong to the Chian repertoire "appreciably later than the introduction of the black figure technique"[196], that is, towards the second quarter of the 6th century. Normally it is a single figure on each side of the vase, often surrounded by simplified rosettes of Corinthian matrix. In some cases a female figure holding a wreath appears with the dancers[197]. She is clearly different from the female dancers who accompany the Attic Dionysian dancers on late Komast cups since she is wearing long garments and has a dignified aspect. In the wreath this woman is holding, and in the recurrent gesture of the dancers touching their own buttocks with one hand, an ancient gesture of sexual stimulation[198], an erotic element might be evident. Perhaps too not by chance, the most widespread decoration of these Chian chalices besides the dancer is a cockerel alone or with a hen[199].

There are few elements for a reading: but it is certain that this Chian dancer, like his Corinthian counterpart, is 'outside', in the world of nature, and in a vaguely erotic setting. Only the type of vase on which it occurs suggests a link with wine. A clear indication of its importance is the fact that it is the only human figure regularly present in the repertoire of the Chian chalices.

The clownish dancer is not foreign to the other Ionian productions, as shown by a *small "Carian" amphora*[200], where the dancer, the only subject apart from a little jug, is ithyphallic, and the well-known *Samian kylix* with the so-called bird-catcher[201], both from the second half of the century.

Instead, *the symposium* is virtually absent. A single figuration that could allude to the condition of the symposiast occurs on an *amphora-lekythos in the Fikellura style*, in Rhodes, almost contemporary with the Samian cup just mentioned[202]. A bearded male, dressed carefully and

---

[196] Lemos 1991, 169; Boardman 1998, 145f.

[197] Lemos 1991, 171 fig. 94 (Chios 3296), 172 fig. 98 (Oxford).

[198] Cf. the Protoattic krater Berlin 31573 (A 32), see above on p. 10; several examples also in the Corinthian style, cf. Seeberg 1971, pls. Ia, VIb, VIIIb, XIa, XIVa and Seeberg 1964, 37 figs. 14. 39, 18.43, 23 and even in the work of the Amasis Painter (Boston 10.651).

[199] Lemos 1991, 173ff.

[200] Kassel Alg 269: Yfantidis 1990, 178f.

[201] Louvre F 68: Boardman 1998, 164 fig. 327. We will discuss it again on p. 202.

[202] Rhodes 12396: CV I pl. 4, 2 (Italy 420); Boardman 1998, 168 fig. 338.

holding a drinking horn in his right hand, seems to be hovering in the air. Is this a metaphor of symposial joy? On the other side of the vase, equally isolated, is a warrior standing in full armour. This coupling of figures on the same vase is reminiscent of similar combinations already seen on Middle Corinthian and Attic Siana kylikes: in archaic imagery, the warrior and the symposiast are antithetical and complementary manifestations of the same stage of masculine life.

Conclusion

We shall now try, at the end of this long chapter on Dionysian figurations in Greek pottery for individual use, to summarise the hypotheses that have emerged. The subject that recurs most often, common to Corinthian unguent vases and to all types of drinking vessels, is the clownish dancer. The type, which also seems to have precedents in the Protoattic period, acquired its canonical formulation in Corinth from where it was transmitted to the Attic, Boeotian, Laconian and Ionian repertoire. Its presence throughout Greece and the variations between being clothed and naked, fat and slender, alone and in a group, makes it implausible that it is a character from the theatrical world (and so to be connected with the origins of Attic dramatic genres) as has been maintained for a long time. The primary connotation is clearly that it is a ritual. Rites also entail performance: so the dancer also represents something. Our hypothesis, derived from the function of the image-bearers, from the combinations of subjects on the same vase, from the bodily forms and gestures, as well as from the attributes, is that the painters intended to evoke specific moments in a man's life: moments of transition between one identity and another, moments in which a person gives the impression of being (or subjectively feeling) incomplete.

The dancer is a suitable image for expressing these moments of transition. He is suitable in the ambiguity of his look: male, but usually without a phallus, often youthful, never athletic. The protruding stomach and buttocks, present particularly in the more ancient formulations, suggest various conclusions: the different, the deformed, and the incomplete. The dance itself evokes transition, a suspended situation. Dance becomes paradox when lame or deformed people are dancing. Clearly, the setting evoked by the dancer is the antithesis

of the normal world, to some extent it is an upside-down world[203]. Therefore, the initial association of the subject of the dancer with the sphere of 'outside' and wilderness is not surprising.

Another characteristic of the subject is its acting in chorus: even when portrayed alone, the dancer evokes a group. The succession of different identities is a normal feature of each life: both on an individual, and on a social level. Besides individual age[204], role and social image represent these successive phases. For each of these phases every society creates typical roles and images: in Archaic and Classical Greece, the athlete was the embodiment of the ephebic age (or at least was one of the embodiments), the figure of the warrior was the prototype of first maturity.

By perceiving the biographical journey in such a manner, the transitional phases of the individual become crucial for the social group. Moreover, if an individual's life is made up of a series of phases[205], there are also (and repeatedly) transitional phases. These are foreseeable and foreseen, but not automatic. Above all, they cannot be considered individual and private events, but are relevant for the whole society: hence the need to ritualise them. The rites of passage between these different phases were and remain of vital importance for every society: we must assume they existed, even if only faint or indirect traces of them are found (in certain rites or myths) in the sources. We certainly know that the sources show quite limited glimpses of real life and that many essential aspects are never mentioned in literature. If the transitional phases are repeated with a certain rhythm (in archaic and classical Greece probably every seven years)[206], then the one linked with the moment of puberty is not the only one. The transitional rites will then be only partly of the classical initiatory type: indeed, they must take place not only before but also after the athletic phase, before and after the military phase, etc.

---

[203] Cf. the Etruscan stone slabe from Acquarossa in Viterbo, with the dancer in the centre portrayed with his head down: Cristofani 1991, 72 fig. 2.

[204] Ethnological examples of societies organised on the basis of age suggest that the individual age is to be understood in a relative sense: Bernardi 1984, 14: "the very idea of age, which we use continuously, is a cultural product", and 26ff., on the difference between physiological age and structural age.

[205] Garland 1990, 2; Musti 1990.

[206] The Solonian hebdomades: Brulé 1987, 98; 360ff.; 398; 406; Garland 1990, 3f.

The setting of these rites was not necessarily public. The moment of transition between various ages, roles and images is crucial on the social level; however, it is problematic also on the individual and psychological levels. The corresponding rites serve to let the community know about the metamorphosis that has happened. But they certainly also had the function of providing psychological support to the individual who was mentally and physically undergoing that metamorphosis. A suitable setting for ritualised transitions must certainly have been the semi-private frame of the symposium. The symposium was one of the privileged settings of rituals of this type, as is confirmed by various roles, correlated with the different phases of age, which we find within the symposium itself: the role of the young cup-bearer; of the seated table companion, who is ephebe and eromenos; of the recumbent symposiast who is a mature man and erastes[207].

The imagery of pottery, an artisanship functionally linked to the symposium, expresses this circumstance, clearly emphasising, already in the 7th century, the dancer's connection with wine. Wine refers back to Dionysos, and facing Dionysos was whoever found himself, repeatedly in the course of his life, in a transitional phase. In a clearer way than the dancer, the symposiast is linked to wine. In our survey we have noted constantly the closeness between dancer and symposiast.

A more subtle way of evoking the link between the symposium, a privileged setting for the consumption of wine, and the age-phases with their corresponding social roles, consists in portraying anonymous warriors and athletes, the corresponding prototypical heroes and the winged goddess of contest and victory[208]. The most concise method was to decorate the unguent vase, an attribute of the ephebe—who embodies the most typical transitional phase—with the figure of the dancer.

We now know that the symposium was a symbol of civil life[209]. Civil life is defined in terms of it being in contrast with life in the

---

[207] Isler-Kerényi 1993b.

[208] Isler-Kerényi 1969, 34ff.

[209] Schmitt Pantel 1990, 26: "... these practices (symposion and sacrificial distribution) bring into play, in everyday gestures, a spectrum of attitudes which are the true characteristics of the Archaic citizen"; Stein-Hölkeskamp 1992; Calame 1996, 105ff.

wild. If attending a symposium was equivalent to living a specific social role, the transitional phases between the different social roles are logically felt as "falling back" into the wild. Hence, the strong wild connotation of the dancer (and the importance of the hunt as a symbol of the effort to overcome the wild)[210] appears especially on the Corinthian unguent vases. Hence perhaps also the long persistence of the animal frieze as a decorative formula on the Corinthian and Laconian kylikes, as well as the strong presence of the fantastic and monstrous figures in the repertoire of Attic Siana cups[211].

The affinity of the dancer with the wild evidently means affinity with the animal world. This explains, but only superficially, the metamorphoses of dancers into satyrs in Boeotian pottery; and it also explains the formal oscillations between the iconographic forerunners of dancers and satyrs. If the dancer can, in certain circumstances, intentionally or not, turn into a satyr, this would mean that the satyr does not belong to a mythological sphere conceptually separated from the human sphere, but to somewhere between human and mythical. In this way, and in spite of the significantly small number of satyrs in the pottery considered so far, iconography reveals a new fact, which has escaped previous studies that are too limited to the Attic repertoire. A fact we will consider in depth in the next chapter when we examine the Dionysian figurations on contemporary communal vases, the dinoi and the kraters.

The same applies to a subject strictly connected with the satyr and the Dionysian thiasos, namely the mule-rider, who illustrates the passage from the wild to civilisation, from 'outside' to 'inside'. Iconography connects this transition with the transportation of wine and even before that with its production, which is with the metamorphosis of the grape into wine. We will show that this twofold transition—from the wild to the civilised and from grape to wine—was understood in both a spatial and a temporal sense.

Finally, we wish to consider at length the central figure of the Dionysian repertoire, namely, Dionysos. In the classes of material discussed so far, he is present to a limited extent: in fact, he is missing from the Corinthian unguent vases, from the first series of Attic kylikes and from Boeotian and Laconian pottery. The only ones to have Dionysos in their repertoire are the kylikes by the Heidelberg

[210] Schnapp 1997, 46f.
[211] On the meaning of the animal frieze: Isler 1978.

Painter. Important and new is his link with weddings, once he appears facing both a nuptial-matronly female figure, prototype of the bride, or a male person similar to Dionysos himself, prototype of the groom.

With these images of Dionysos emerges the problem of identifying the females surrounding him. In the first chapter, we met two completely different types of woman: the victim of erotic aggression by a Protocorinthian satyr-like person and the bride who meets Dionysos on the Cycladic krater of the 7th century. A new female on the Attic Komast cups is the female dancer, companion of the Dionysian dancer. The kylikes of Lydos have revealed the identity of this female dancer to be a companion of the satyrs: which proves the substantial similarity of dancer and satyr. However, if the female dancer and the victim of erotic aggression are the same person, how can we explain the different attitudes of the satyr—now peaceful but originally aggressive—towards her? In addition, what is the relationship of this female companion of the dancer-satyr with the female companion of the Laconian symposiast and with the Attic matronly-wife who meets Dionysos? For an answer to these questions, we must turn to the more explicit images of the great communal vases.

A recurring attribute of Dionysos in these images is the drinking horn: already an attribute of the dancers on the first Attic kylikes and on the Corinthian unguent vases, also present in the figurations of the mule rider and the symposium on Laconian cups. The drinking horn can have, as we have said, a primitive connotation because it is a drinking vessel, not made by man but found in nature. Another idea that the drinking horn evokes is sacrifice: to obtain the horn it is necessary to kill the animal. In this way, the consumption of wine is connected with sacrifice that, in mythological thought—also illustrated by the myth of Prometheus[212]—represents an important step in the process of emancipation from life in the wild. The few figurations of Dionysos present on vases for individual use reveal a trait of his personality, which the analysis of the first figurations of the god on dinoi and Attic kraters from the decades between 580 and 550 BCE will fully confirm: his cultural, civilising aspect, as antithesis and complement to his wild and primordial features[213].

---

[212] Rudhart 1981, 209–226; Kerényi 1998, 201.

[213] For confirmation see Calame 1996, 148, when he speaks of the "faculté ambivalente de transgression et d'intégration" present in the cult of Dionysos and, in legend, of his role in sustaining the "action civilizante du mariage".

CHAPTER THREE

DIONYSOS AND THE GODS: DINOI AND KRATERS FROM THE FIRST HALF OF THE 6TH CENTURY BCE

The vases with Dionysian subjects examined in this chapter are different from those just discussed in respect of their dimensions and above all their use, which is not individual but communal: for these reasons they usually have more complex and more explicit images. Even a single figure on an aryballos or three similar figures on a cup could stimulate anyone looking at them to make different associations, and evoking different events: however, for us, who do not belong to that cultural system and mindset, their emblematic nature creates problems of interpretation that are often insurmountable. Although belonging to the same system, the images on dinoi and kraters are more accessible because they are more narrative in nature, at least when they are not too fragmentary.

Early dancers and satyrs

In the years shortly before the dinos of Sophilos[1], there were countless dinoi and kraters decorated with Dionysian subjects being produced in the potters' quarter of Athens, the Kerameikos. However, often the fragments are so tiny that it is difficult to date them with precision. The only one to provide some additional clue is the *fragmentary dinos found in Athens*[2], dated to not later than approximately 580 BCE. It is particularly interesting because it shows, in various friezes, Dionysian dancers of the familiar type, as well as a satyr. In addition, it has the advantage of being comparable with the dinos from Vari already discussed[3], which precedes it by at most one generation. The most obvious difference is that the dinos from Vari

Fig. 33–34

[1] London 1971.11–1.1.
[2] Athens, Agora P 334: Beazley, Addenda 7 (23).
[3] Athens, from Vari: see on p. 13.

presents all the images with human figures in the same frieze, which is the main frieze: dancers around a dinos; young riders in a line; and Herakles fighting the Hydra of Lerna. In comparison, the painter of the dinos from the Agorà has distributed the figures over more than one register, of which only the lowest is reserved for the animal frieze. In the central and therefore most important register, three adjacent images can be recognised: from left to right, an enigmatic scene comprising a mount (probably a mule), a tripod and a priest. Two characters are following. They could be interpreted as a satyr chasing a nymph. The most important figuration positioned at the centre of the decorative system of the dinos, is a Calydonian hunt containing several characters and inscriptions. The upper register was formed—this is the hypothesis set out in the first publication[4]—with two floral ribbons interrupted by figured scenes: on one side four dancers around a symposium vessel, on the other perhaps an erotic chase of which only the lower parts of two people remain, one of them with a long garment, turned to the left[5].

The group of dancers offers no new elements in respect of contemporary dancers on Corinthian unguent-holders and Attic Komast cups. We find a grotesque dance around a communal vessel (here a column krater), the use of a kantharos and a drinking-horn as drinking vessels; and music is provided by a double flute. However, in the three that are preserved well enough, we can notice a difference between the 'normal', fat and clumsy dancers, and the player, who is clearly slimmer and thus imagined to be younger[6]. As a whole, they appear less standardised: they give the impression of a fresh, unconventional approach to a well established formula. If one thinks of the examples of the metamorphosis of dancers into satyrs seen on slightly more recent Boeotian pottery, it is difficult to imagine that there was, in the mind of the painter, a similarity between these dancers and the satyr-like person of the lower register. They are more like the hunters of the Calydonian wild boar and are also taking part in a collective event, where the protagonist is not an individual but a group. Instead, from his looks and his aggressive and

---

[4] Hesperia 4, 1935, 434.

[5] Hesperia 4, 1935, 434 (with reference to 437 fig. 5): "perhaps a silen sneaking up to surprise an unconscious nymph".

[6] Cf., for example, the Laconian kylix Leipzig T 2177: Stibbe 1972, no. 314 pl. 112, 1.

erotic behaviour towards the woman, the satyr-like person seems to derive directly from his Protocorinthian forerunner[7]. The woman's short garment and the projectile in her hand also confer a clear connotation of the wild.

The *fragment, possibly of a dinos* (or at least of a communal vessel) *attributed to Sophilos*[8] and the *bellied lekythos from the circle of the Gorgon Painter*[9] show that this interpretation of the satyr and his partner is not unique in this period, even if the satyr could be depicted mounted on a mule (and no less wicked towards the woman being pursued). This interpretation of the satyr presents a problem because other fragments of Attic dinoi or similar contemporary vases show completely different satyrs: instead of shouting, they are playing music[10], instead of erupting brutally onto the scene, they are moving slowly in procession carefully holding containers of wine[11]. *Fig. 37* *Fig. 35–36*

In the iconography of the satyr from the first quarter of the 6th century, we can see some clarification in respect of the previous phases: the character is behaving wildly, not in a civilised way, has been given bestial features such as a tail, horse's ears, a hairy body, features missing from the Protocorinthian forerunner. The deviation from the normal male is also expressed in his profile, which is more grotesque than feral. This adaptation of looks to behaviour has its own consistency. The satyrs just listed seem all the more paradoxical, and, in spite of their bestial features, behave in a decidedly civilised way: playing the aulós and moving in procession with containers for wine as elaborate as the krater and the amphora in staed of the natural containers, wineskin and drinking-horns. How can this be explained?

The meaning of the paradox could be that in the figure of the satyr there is an evolution from the savage to the civilised, but in such a manner that, in the civilised aspect the memory of the savage

---

[7] Brindisi 1669: see above on p. 11f.

[8] Istanbul 4514: Beazley, Addenda 11 (42.37); LIMC VIII Suppl., Nymphai 42.

[9] Buffalo (NY) G 600: Beazley, Addenda 3 (12.22).

[10] London B 103.16, from Naukratis: Carpenter 1986, pls. 18B and 91 n. 69. Another more or less contemporary fragment from Naukratis with a satyr playing the aulos (JHS 25, 1905 pl. 6.3) is held to be Ionian by Kunze (AM 59, 1934, 96) but has not been included in that category by Walter-Karydi 1973.

[11] Cortona: Hedreen 1992, pl. 25b; a fragment attributed to Sophilos in a private American collection: Padgett 2004, 236–238; Hedreen 1992, 74 (with n. 68); Isler-Kerényi 2004, 11–18.

remains alive[12]. The satyr is not transformed into a normal man but in spite of his domesticated behaviour, preserves feral features. In this he is different from the dancers, who, in looks and behaviour, evoke the 'outside' and the 'before': not through their bestial features but because they are grotesque and infantile. At this point, we must consider the problem of the relationship between dancers and satyrs: whether it exists and how it could be explained. A satyr-like figure is already attested in the 7th century on unguent-vases and kylikes from Corinth. However, in the Middle Corinthian period, a convincing formula for representing primitive and savage beings is missing in spite of the strong presence of dancers: see the amphoriskos from Athens[13]. The pottery from Boeotia, chiefly ritual in shape and function, attest to the metamorphosis of the dancer into satyr during certain rituals. In Athens, we find on kylikes dancers from Corinthian unguent-vases, on kraters various types of satyr. The metamorphosis is indicated, at most, when the dancer's face is seen from the front[14], though it is not explicitly attested.

The traditional solution to the problem of the similarities and differences between dancers and satyrs is to identify the dancers with actors and the satyrs with the characters that they represent[15]. Another, more flexible solution, would be to place the former on the generically ritual level and the latter on the mythological level. The differences would then derive from the fact that the painters of various centres in the first decades of the 6th century had different priorities, dictated, at least in part, by the types and functions of the vases they decorated. The iconographic situation found in Attica does not at all exclude the idea that a metamorphosis from dancer into satyr also existed in Athens. However, it also reflects the need to explain the ambivalence of the satyr, wild but able to be tamed.

---

[12] Cf. instead the explanation proposed by Hedreen 1992, 74: "To summarize, some silens appear to have nothing to do with Dionysos, whereas others seem to be associated with the god from the start . . .".

[13] Athens 664: see above on p. 24.

[14] For example, on the Komast cup in Göttingen 549a, see above on p. 34 n. 70.

[15] This is the theory of Hedreen 1992, 156: ". . . the earliest representations of silens suggest that the origins of the iconography of these creatures lies in performances, and there is no compelling alternative explanation of these origins". This theory is basically the same as Webster's but is criticised by Carpenter 1986, 89f., who concludes his argument as follows: ". . . both are separately connected with Dionysos but need not themselves be related". Cf. also Seeberg 1995, 7 and n. 33.

If the vases with images of dancers and satyrs were used in the symposium and if there were symposial rituals of metamorphosis, we could deduce that the table-companions took part in collective rituals of transition: Dionysian dances that make them look grotesque and incomplete. Therefore, they show a—metaphorical—*relapse* to a pre-cultural, wild condition, of which satyrs were the mythical prototypes. With the satyrs and the shift of perspective from the human to the mythical level, the temporal dimension comes into consideration. In fact, the mythical prototypes always act in an earlier moment and by definition, the events of mythology are set in a historical phase that happened before the present. The stories about satyrs told at the symposium gave the participants the opportunity to identify themselves with mythical models in the same way that ephebes identified themselves with Herakles and the Calydonian hunters. In addition, given that the events of myth conditioned subsequent historical phases in mythological thought, the satyrs are also in some way held responsible for the way the world looked[16]. We will confirm this hypothesis when we deal with the images of the grape harvest and wine-making[17].

Dionysos on the dinos by Sophilos[18]

The dinos by Sophilos in London[19] owes much of its fame to it having the oldest image of Dionysos appearing with his name on it. This is the first treatment of a well-defined event in mythology in this study on Dionysian iconography: the procession of Olympian deities at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. The image is in the form of a continuous ribbon winding round the band just below the rim of the vase. All the strips adorning the rest of the vase as well as its stand are animal friezes. The image is composed of three sections: the longest shows a row of five ceremonial quadrigae with a couple of deities on it, each accompanied by groups of three or more

Fig. 38–40

[16] For a thorough consideration of the character of mythological discourse and the way it functions: Rudhart 1981. Other points of view are given in Gentili/Paioni 1973; Dowden 1992, 22–38; Kerényi 1995, 11–26.

[17] See p. 152. See also Isler-Kerényi 2004.

[18] The proposed reading of the figuration and the procession of gods on the François krater is fully documented in Isler-Kerényi 1997b.

[19] London 1971.11–1.1: Beazley, Addenda 10 (Para 19.16bis).

females on foot. The section in front of the quadrigae corresponds to the central part of the animal frieze below it, and the section behind it forms the tail of the procession, with figures on foot and on horseback.

In order to determine with the greatest possible accuracy the sense of this particular image, we must first consider what the shape of the image-bearer could evoke independently of its material (clay, bronze, etc.). On a practical level, the dinos was used either as a communal container at a symposium or as a container of lustral water at a wedding. It is not accidental that the history of ceramic shapes reveals that both the krater and the nuptial lebes are derived from the dinos. On a symbolic level, the dinos evokes opulence and social prestige: in fact, the bronze prototype was used as a prize in athletic competitions. Due to the elitist connotations of their shapes, variants in pottery were often ex-voto offerings, as indicated on an actual dinos of Sophilos, fragments of which have been found on the Acropolis, and decorated similar to the one in this study[20]. For the same reason the dinos could have been a funerary offering at burials of persons of high social standing: the dinos we are examining was preserved almost perfectly.

The shape, then, sets our vase ideally in at least three functional contexts: a symposium, a wedding and a funeral. The decoration has to accommodate all these possible uses and provide clues for a reading that is compatible with each of them. Our interpretation must also take this into account. The frieze is best read from the right. The first sight is the façade of a temple-like building with a large closed door to which the procession is moving. In front of the building is Peleus, turning to the left to welcome the procession. Between Peleus and the first of the quadrigae, a series of twelve persons are following, moving towards the right: the divine messenger Iris; Demeter with Hestia; Chariklo (Cheiron's wife) with Leto; Dionysos holding an ostentatious vine-branch in his hand; Hebe; the centaur Cheiron; Themis; and three nymphs. On the quadrigae, divine couples are following each other: Zeus and Hera (accompanied

[20] Athens 15165 (Acr. 587): Beazley, Addenda 10 (39.15). One of the reasons why dinoi are relatively numerous among the ex-voto's of the main sanctuary of the goddess of craftsmen is certainly that it required great skill to make: Schreiber 1999, 108ff.

by three females on foot whose identities are unknown: perhaps the Horai or the Nereids)[21]; Poseidon and Amphitrite (with the Charites); Ares and Aphrodite (with four Muses); the brothers Hermes and Apollo (with the other three Muses); and finally the sisters Artemis and Athena (with the Moirai). The last part of the procession is led by the majestic figure of Okeanos (he is the person with the largest head in the whole procession), whose extremely long, wavy fishtail even touches the building, the goal of the procession. Next, a couple of goddesses on foot: Tethys (wife of Okeanos) and Eileithyia (the patroness of childbirth). The last in the procession is Hephaistos on his mule. There are no doubts on the identities of the characters because they are all named.

The analysis of the arrangement of the image and the iconographic formulae used by Sophilos is more instructive. Of the three sections described in the beginning, the section with the series of quadrigae is clearly connected with a pre-existent figurative tradition. The quadriga carrying a couple, often a wedding couple, is a formula used in late Mycenaean pottery painting and later taken up again by 7th century representational vases both in Attica and the Cyclades. We have already seen that the figure of Dionysos of the Attic repertoire has precedents in Cycladic production[22]. Therefore, the hypothesis can be proposed that Sophilos—as well as contemporary Attic vase-painters—knew the repertoire and he could have taken the quadriga formula from this, which was the standard decoration of the larger panel of Cycladic kraters. In this context, the meaning of the formula is clearly celebratory.The horses are represented as winged and so are not earthbound animals. The wedding couple on the winged quadriga is clearly a metaphor for the transition to a different way of being, both new and higher.

The multiplication of quadrigae, even if clearly dictated by the shape of the panel as a band, shows the nuptial connotation of the dinos by Sophilos. A careful reading of the image reveals that this connotation affects not only the section with the chariots but also the groups on foot that precede and follow it. As we have seen, the group at the head comprises of thirteen persons: six before and six behind Dionysos. He remains the focus of attention because his figure

[21] Isler-Kerényi 1997b, 70 n. 21.
[22] Cycladic krater in Melos, Archaeological Museum: see above on p. 7f.

is on top of the floral decoration in the centre of the animal frieze beneath and because the vine-branch he is holding in his left hand extends over the top edge of the image. This branch, together with the open mouth of Dionysos and his extended right hand, establish a direct link between him and Peleus: he too has his mouth open and is holding a kantharos in his left hand while his right hand is stretched out. The two are greeting each other and soon they will be shaking hands, that is, making a pact symbolically. Each element of this section of the image—the building on the right edge, Hestia, the goddess of the domestic hearth, Demeter, the prototype of a bride's mother, Chariklo, wife and adoptive mother, Leto, the mother of Olympian twins—have a common denominator: the idea of the oikos (a concept that combines the home with the family). The common denominator of the left half of the group is the complete opposite: not the oikos but the world of nature, with Hebe dressed as Artemis, the centaur with his hunting booty and the nymphs who by definition belong to the world of nature. But the very name of the Nymphs has a nuptial connotation[23]. In perspective of Dionysos they evoke his infancy, just as Cheiron evokes the infancy of both Peleus and Achilles. As for Hebe, she is the prototype of a daughter and fiancée. So Dionysos is in the centre of the group proceeding from the outside to the inside, from nature to home. At the same time, it proceeds from the status of nymph, i.e. bride, to the status of matron, from infancy to maturity. However, the strongest link is between Dionysos, with the vine, and Peleus, with the kantharos. The dynamic of the procession establishes, therefore, between grape and wine, a link similar to the one between nature and the oikos and between brides and matrons: the transition from grape to wine is a metaphor for a wedding.

Two characters of this group have different roles: Iris, the messenger, is announcing the arrival of the procession and establishing a link between the head group just described and the series of quadrigae. The role of Themis is less obvious, but, as we shall see, even more significant: she forms a conceptual connection between the three sections of the image.

The nuptial meaning is not missing from the group in the tail of the procession, even if the primeval couple Okeanos and Tethys are

[23] Andò 1996; LIMC VIII 1, 891 s.v. Nymphai (M. Halm-Tisserant/G. Siebert); Calame 1996, 142ff.

not on a chariot. Eileithyia, accompanying Tethys, emphasises an idea implicitly present in the other groups: the idea of birth, that is, offspring, as a result of a marriage. The last one in the procession, Hephaistos[24], is the most polyvalent. As we know from Homer, he is particularly close to the invisible bride, Thetis. In addition, in his capacity as god of fire and artistic knowledge, he is the patron of the vase-painter.

This reading takes into account both the nuptial and the symposial connotations of the dinos. However, we shall see that the allusion to death is not missing and is even dominant. The proposed reading and the comparison with previous executions of the motif of the nuptial quadriga, emphasise one missing element: the bride. This is confirmed in a comparison with later specimens of the motif (which, beyond the first half of the 5th century, remained one of the customary formulae for portraying mythological weddings or transitions to a superior existence such as the ascent to Olympus, apotheosis, etc.). The absence of the bride is only one of many anomalies:

– the procession of quadrigae is not moving towards a high and undefined sphere but towards a building;
– the horses pulling the quadrigae are not winged;
– a series of couples appears on chariots, except for the most important nuptial couple of the whole image, Thetis and Peleus.

In spite of the presence of so many deities, this procession has clear earthly connotations. In the version given by Sophilos, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis is not equivalent to an apotheosis; it is not even a model for human weddings. However, where the bride is eclipsed, the groom, the interlocutor of Dionysos, is honoured by the visit of Olympian deities of various generations.

The literary sources, Homer, Aeschylus and Pindar[25], provide insight on Thetis and Peleus. The events prior to this wedding were crucial for the history of the world. Zeus and his brother Poseidon had fallen in love with Thetis to the extent of wanting to fight over her. However, Themis had warned them: the son of Thetis would become stronger than his father. Therefore, there was the danger that, by producing a son with Thetis, Zeus would end up being

[24] LIMC IV, Hephaistos 185.
[25] Kerényi 1997 I, 164 and ns. 760–763; Isler-Kerényi 1997b, 73 n. 41.

deprived of power as he had deprived his father Kronos of power and Kronos had deprived his own father, Ouranos. Therefore, Zeus decided to force Thetis to marry a mortal, namely Peleus, because the son born from this union, although stronger than his father, would be mortal and hence would not be a threat to Zeus and cosmic stability.

Concerning the dinos of Sophilos, the myth throws light on the image and makes the choices intelligible. It explains the presence of Themis in the group at the head of the procession, with a sceptre in her hand. It also explains why Poseidon's quadriga follows that of Zeus. As we know, the wedding of Thetis lies at the origin of the Trojan war: this explains why the third quadriga belongs to Ares and Aphrodite. For the reign of Zeus to last, none of his sons should found a dynasty except on the heroic level. This is one reason why on the quadrigae belonging to the sons of Zeus they are not married couples but brothers and sisters. Another reason, which does not exclude the first but strengthens it, is that the Olympian family acted as a model for the family in Solon's Athens. Furthermore, in that family, in the period before the wedding, sons and daughters were brought up and educated separately[26].

Finally, this explains the strange formula used to represent the primordial parents. They are not together on one quadriga—they do not form a real couple—because, in view of cosmic stability for the duration of Zeus' reign, a further progeny of Okeanos and Tethys besides the existing one had to be avoided. However, Eileithyia remains a reminder of the couple's role as progenitors and their connection with successive generations of deities. In addition, the goddess of childbirth is placed close to Hephaistos, emphasising his special dignity as head (even if involuntarily) of the kinfolk of Athenians and drawing a link between the story of Peleus and Thetis and the history of Athens. Also logical is the sequence of female groups accompanying the quadrigae on foot. A trio of Nymphs is leading, the Moirae are at the end and in the middle are Charites and the Muses. We move from the youngest accompanying females to the most venerable as we reach Okeanos from Zeus: thus the whole procession evokes the sequence of divine generations from their origin through to the heroic age in the person of Peleus.

---

[26] Brulé 1987, 139: "La paideia féminine exclut l'influence masculine"; Garland 1990, 197f.; Bruit Zaidman 1993, 34ff.; Golden 1993, 72.

In this mythological vein, let us turn to Dionysos. We have emphasised his crucial role in the journey from infancy to maturity, i.e. to marriage, in the male and female perspectives. We have sensed his position of intermediary between wild nature and civilised life. A metaphor of these transitions is the transformation of the grape into wine. How is this role of Dionysos presented in light of the cosmic events just mentioned? In the head group, and through his relationship with Peleus, Dionysos is presented as the god of weddings. Hereby all weddings, even of deities, belong to his sphere: weddings that are the presupposition of the succession of divine generations and with them of the cosmic revolutions. The last of them is—and with the wedding of Peleus will remain—the revolution on which the reign of Zeus is founded. In such a reading Dionysos has a double role: the role of patron of all the transitions from one condition to another, of all metamorphoses, even those that affect the whole cosmos. At the same time, as a deity especially connected with Peleus, he is also a guarantor of the present order, an order made possible by an averted cosmic revolution: by the birth of a mortal son from an immortal goddess. Finally, this also explains the absence of Thetis from our figuration, eclipsed as a sign of mourning on the very day of her wedding.

Thus the iconographic choices made by Sophilos are transparent. The horses are not winged because they are not carrying anyone either to Olympus or to a generic celestial sphere. Instead, the procession is heading towards a building (a house or a temple) placed on the earthly level and which is a model of the Athenian oikos. The wedding portrayed here, if not a feast, is a crucial event in the history of the world: because without this wedding the present order would fail at any moment. However, this wedding inevitably leads to the death of Achilles: that is why this precious dinos of Sophilos, besides being dedicated in a sanctuary or presented on the occasion of a wedding, could also form part of funerary furnishings.

Dionysos on the François krater

The procession of the gods

The most famous image of Dionysos before Red-figure is undoubtedly the one painted by Kleitias on the volute krater of the potter Ergotimos around 565 BCE, which is ten or fifteen years younger

than the dinos by Sophilos just discussed[27]. Although arranged according to the same pattern, the more recent version is less appropriate for the shape of the image-bearer as the joints of the handles of the krater are superimposed on the figures of the frieze, concealing some of them. This solution, in truth not very elegant, derives from the fact that the procession of the gods was one of the standard decorations of the dinos, which was later adopted by decorators of volute kraters. The figure of Dionysos in this procession is not the only occurence on the vase: he reappears in the image of the Return of Hephaistos to Olympus in one of the lower friezes. The François krater, with its two versions of Dionysos in different mythological contexts, both well specified by inscriptions, is therefore also a cornerstone in our own interpretation of the god.

A presupposition of this interpretation is the analysis of the entire set of images forming the extremely rich decoration on this krater: an analysis intended to understand whether the various scenes are really interconnected through a common concept, as has always been thought[28]. It is therefore not plausible to conjecture a singular key to read the François krater. Since the vase was intended to be used on more than one occasion, we must presume that the subjects had more than one common denominator. However, the choices Kleitias made for the François krater show that the vase was intended more for a celebration than for practical use. Rather than serving as a container for mixing wine with water for the symposium, it was a monument of prestige in which two concepts dominate: marriage and death. It is interesting, then, that this decoration, although belonging to the repertoire of similar Greek vases, includes motifs that are especially appreciated in Chiusi, where the krater was found in an aristocratic tomb. However, this does not substantially alter the reading of the vase, because one has to assume that the Etruscan clientele of the time, especially the elite, were familiar with the mythological content and scale of values of Greek culture.

Since Dionysos was the protagonist of at least two friezes on a krater of clearly aristocratic connotation, any interpretation in rustic or plebeian key seems unlikely[29]. However, it is interesting to see how Kleitias modified Sophilos' version of the figure of Dionysos.

---

[27] Florence 4209: Beazley, Addenda 21 (76.1); LIMC III, Dionysos 496.
[28] Isler-Kerényi 1997a.
[29] Carpenter 1986, passim; cf. Isler-Kerényi 1991b.

The changes do not concern the general arrangement of the image. *Fig. 41*
Here too we have three sections: the largest section comprises of the quadrigae, although there are seven instead of five. This part is preceded by a group of characters on foot, among them Dionysos, moving towards a building, and followed by some figures closing the procession. Here too the horses have no wings and the wedding couple is not on a chariot: Kleitias remains faithful to the 'earthbound' interpretation given by Sophilos to the divine procession. However, Thetis has not been eclipsed completely: she can be seen making a gesture of anakalypsis and seated within the building on the right edge of the figured strip. The leading group is structured in a different way from the previous version. Here also Peleus is in front of the house (or temple), but he is clasping Cheiron's hand. The kantharos is set in front of him on an altar. The centaur is at the head of the procession together with Iris dressed in an animal skin on top of her chitonisc: in the absence of the Nymphs, the natural world is reduced to these two characters. Three matrons follow (Leto is missing), forming a compact group much like the other groups of deities accompanying the quadrigae on foot. In the centre of side A is Dionysos: he is turning, not towards Peleus but towards whoever, from the outside, is looking at the image.

As on the dinos by Sophilos, the first three chariots are attributed to Zeus and Hera (but Hera is in the foreground), Poseidon and Amphitrite, Ares and Aphrodite; these last two couples, however, are concealed by the handle attachments and only their names are visible. On side B there follow not two but four quadrigae, the occupants of which cannot be identified with complete certainty: possibly Apollo with his mother, Athena possibly with Artemis and Hermes with his mother Maia. The very last couple has been lost completely. There is a glimpse of the bull's head of Okeanos to the right of the attachment of the handles and his fish-tail behind the mule of Hephaistos. He is also the last in the procession, but positioned well in view in the space between the attachments of the handles. The groups of accompanying females are the Horai, immediately behind Dionysos, the nine Muses together with the first three chariots and an unidentifiable group accompanying the fourth quadriga. The fifth quadriga passes in front of Doris and Nereus, the parents of the bride, who seem to be meeting Athena's chariot. With Hermes and Maia are four Moirai, and an unknown group with the last chariot. Generally speaking, in the Kleitias version, the genealogical

element is not expressed in exactly the same way as in the Sophilos version. The presence, of the bride's parents (with Doris making the same gesture as Thetis) in a central section of side B highlights the female filiation. If one thinks of the matriarchal imprint of the Etruscan institutions, the hypothesis can be proposed that the modifications are related to the destination of the vase, namely, Chiusi. The composition by Kleitias differs from the one by Sophilos in two more ways: in the figurations of the Moirai and of Dionysos.

One feature that is prominent on side B, is that the Moirai, unlike the other groups of female companions, are not placed behind the rumps of the horses but in front, forming a compact blot that attracts attention. The four women are dressed only in chitons, which makes them look younger than the Muses, for example. The sequence of these groups no longer emphasises a temporal progression from early times to the present. The temporal element is expressed differently. One of the four, intentionally highlighted Moirai is wearing a garish garment decorated with friezes: appropriately, the recurrent motif of these friezes is the nuptial quadriga. However, unlike the quadrigae of the divine procession, it is pulled by winged horses. Here we have confirmation that the omission of the wings, already noticed in the Sophilos version, is neither a casual nor only a formal fact (because the wings would have complicated the composition) but a meditated choice: a choice which had the function of making the terrestrial connotation of the divine quadrigae stand out rather than their celestial connotation.

However, the most noteworthy difference between the two versions concerns the figure of Dionysos. Whereas the Dionysos of Sophilos easily fits into an iconographic tradition that goes from the Cycladic krater[30] to the kylikes of the Heidelberg Painter[31] and to many images of the second half of the 6th century, the Dionysos of Kleitias is completely different and was to remain an exception. As said already, the god turns his face frontally and looks at the spectator: his face becomes a mask and, in this way, introduces into the figure and into the whole image a strongly static element. This feature is even more striking because it is combined with the turbulent movement of the god towards the right. This way of representing

[30] Melos, Archaeological Museum; see above, on p. 7f.
[31] Discussed on p. 43ff.

Dionysos evidently wishes to express in the most concise way his paradoxical nature of a deity who binds and drags simultaneously.

On his shoulder Dionysos is carrying an amphora, but it has a foot and so is not portable. Amphorae of this type could function as containers of wine at a symposium but also as tomb markers. In this image, the combination of the mask-like face of the god with the amphora confers a funereal aura on him: this is in contrast to his impetuous motion, as we have said. The vine-branch has a similar message: it alludes to the metamorphosis of the grape cluster into wine and therefore to the metaphorical death of the cluster to which the birth of wine is due. The paradox of a Dionysos with a mask-like face, simultaneously petrifying and moving violently, is resolved if it is related to the transformation of the grape cluster into wine. Although inevitable, death is an indispensable presupposition for life, for rebirth in a new form.

It is Dionysos himself, evoking inescapable and necessary death as a guarantee of life, who is the real protagonist of the procession of deities. This is not only because he is at the centre of side A of the image but also because he gives an answer to the mourning of Thetis and the fate of Achilles. The answer in the Kleitias version is more elaborate and more explicit than in the Sophilos version, where, at least superficially and because Achilles is not present on the vase, the idea of marriage predominates. In the complex decorative system of the François krater, instead, the figure of Achilles recurs repeatedly: even on both handles, areas that are more markedly funereal than the rest of the vase[32], as a gigantic corpse carried on Ajax' shoulders away from the battlefield.

The formula adopted by Kleitias for the figure of Dionysos seems especially successful: one could ask why it was not continued in vase-painting. Could this be because it ended up in an Etruscan tomb and was no longer visible? An answer like this presupposes that the François krater, which was not mass-produced, was the unique object in its own time, as it appears to be today even after more than twenty-five centuries. Another explanation could be that the predominant funerary connotation made it less suitable for other uses, such as in the symposium, for example.

---

[32] Isler-Kerényi 1997a, 530ff.

The return of Hephaistos[33]

Analysis of the figurative repertoire of the krater has shown that, among all the images present, only two comprise an original choice: the pursuit of Troilos by Achilles and the return of Hephaistos to Olympus. The only common element between these two scenes is that they appear on the same band on the surface of the vase. However, if we carefully run through the actual way a painter proceeds, we will come to understand them as complementary.

Fig. 42 The two images are, in fact, contiguous to each other without any breaks imposed by the shape of the vase, unlike the band above it with the procession of deities, and they are not even touched by the attachments of the handles. More illuminating is the way the painter has arranged them. Logic requires us to consider the area in which the images meet, i.e. the sides of the vase, right under the handles. We note immediately that the two areas look completely different. On the (onlooker's) right of side A, there is a gap, even if within the image: in fact, the dark coloured gate of the walls of Troy from which two warriors are emerging is exactly in line with the right attachment of the handle, also painted dark. The right hand edge of the walls, then, cuts the heel of Hermes, who on the left closes the scene of the return of Hephaistos: therefore, the figuration of the pursuit of Troilos was executed first. On the opposite side, there is no similar gap: instead, there is a superimposition. Apollo, who closes the scene on the left, is shoulder to shoulder with the last of the Nymphs of the Return. However, Rhodia, Polyxena's companion immediately to the right of the fountain, is turning her back on the pursuit and nothing distinguishes her, either in height or in clothing, from the Nymphai. The building matching the walls of Troy is the fountain from where the girls of Troy draw water: but in relation to the attachment of the handle on top of it, it is out of position. Nothing prevents the spectator from attributing this fountain also to the scene of the Return: the fountain, then, can also be the departure point of the nymphs and satyrs of the thiasos accompanying the mule of Hephaistos. From elsewhere we know that the Nymphai, by their nature, are associated with water[34]. In this case, the problem of a possible link between the two scenes is solved.

---

[33] For detailed documentation on this chapter see Isler-Kerényi 2004.
[34] Andò 1996, 47–79, especially 66f.

The pursuit of Troilos

The positioning of this image on the krater is not, in itself, original: in these decades, friezes of young horse-riders and galloping ephebes were a normal decoration on kraters. In addition, Troilos can undoubtedly be considered a mythological prototype of the ephebe on horseback. The pursuit of Troilos is a well-attested subject in vase-painting already before the François krater. There are two preferred versions: the ambush and the actual pursuit. The formula of the ambush, which is older, is also widespread outside Attica. In this formula, the field of the image is divided by the fountain into two equivalent areas: Troilos with his horse and, often, with Polyxena, stands on the side of 'civilisation', whereas Achilles, lying in wait behind the fountain, impersonates 'the wild'.

In the pursuit formula, at the centre of the image, between Achilles on one side and his sister running on the other, is the galloping young horse-rider. When present, the fountain is at the edge of the picture. None of the attested examples is chronologically earlier than the François krater: but this was to become the preferred formula, often—and understandably—used for the panel on the shoulders of hydrias.

If the formula used by Kleitias is not so old, we must ask what its iconographical precedents were: which, then, were the associations induced. The dominant and central element of the Kleitias formula is the group comprising of pursuer and pursued. The names added by the painter leave no doubt that here Troilos is the victim of a famous act of erotic arrogance perpetrated by Achilles. Erotic chases are not common in vase-painting before the François krater: but those that we know, in Attica and elsewhere, all belong to the Dionysian setting. The pursuer is always a satyr and the pursued is always a woman who is a nymph[35]. Chronologically, the closest example to Kleitias is on a *lekythos from the circle of the Gorgon Painter*[36], contemporary with Sophilos. The pursuer is an ithyphallic satyr, shouting and mounted on a mule: the mule is biting the arm of the nymph who is trying to escape.

From this iconographic situation we can plausibly deduce that, with his new formula, Kleitias wished to emphasise the similarity

[35] See the aryballos in Brindisi 1669 discussed on p. 11f. and the dinos in Athens, Agorà P 334, discussed here on p. 65f.

[36] Buffalo (NY) G 600: Beazley, Addenda 3 (12.22).

between the arrogant behaviour of Achilles and the savage and aggressive behaviour of the satyr, and between Polyxena and the nymph under attack. If so, how can the figure of Troilos be explained? On the one hand, being a horse-rider, he is reminiscent of the pursuing satyr, but on the other, like the nymph he is also being pursued for erotic reasons. We will understand his situation better after analysing other ephebe horse-riders of this period associated with the iconography of Hephaistos riding a mule.

The frieze with the mule-rider[37]

The question of the origin of Attic drama, raised by philologists and discussed for whole generations, has seriously involved the evaluation of the iconography of Hephaistos: it is very important, therefore, to consider it now, even if only in summary form, from a purely archaeological point of view, leaving completely out of consideration the extraneous historical and literary implications.

The subject of the mule-rider is one of the oldest and most widespread in black figure pottery, not only Attic pottery. We have already discussed the first known example in the context of Middle Corinthian small vases[38], that is, from the decades between 590 and 570 BCE. The oldest Attic example is the François krater, but almost contemporary is an amphora of Panathenaic shape on which the rider is an ephebe[39]. The famous version by Lydos, dated around or shortly after 560 BCE[40], is the first of a large number of similar figurations on vases of various shapes[41]. The image can be rich and elaborate, like the figuration by Lydos, or be reduced to a few essential elements. Previous studies have enabled us to define the iconographic formula. The essential component is the mule-rider. The most frequent accompanying figures are males (often, but not always, satyrs), and then Dionysos. Next in frequency are dancing women, and lastly a female figure of the nuptial-matronly type. The combination with Hera tied to her throne is, if not unique, very rare: the version on the François krater is not at all the rule but rather the exception.

---

[37] LIMC III, Dionysos 567; IV, Hephaistos 186; VIII Suppl., Nymphai 25; VIII Suppl., Silenoi 22.

[38] Amphoriskos, Athens 664, discussed on p. 24f.

[39] Oxford 1920.107: Beazley, Addenda 24 (89.2).

[40] New York 31.11.11: Beazley, Addenda 29 (108.5). See on p. 97f.

[41] LIMC IV, Hephaistos 114–167; Shapiro 1995, 7ff. For a really thorough analysis of the motif of the mule-rider see Bron 1989.

The mule-riders can vary. The one recurring most has a beard, but usually no attributes or physical peculiarities, sometimes they are holding Dionysian objects such as the drinking-horn, the kantharos or the vine-branch. Less frequent and somewhat more recent are craftsman's tools. However, the mule-rider without tools could still be Hephaistos. Besides the bearded rider, especially in the beginning of the series, the ephebe rider is well attested. As we have seen, mule-riders can also be satyrs and Dionysos himself. In late black-figure painting, there is even a female mule-rider with clear Dionysian connotations[42]. It is clear, therefore, that even though Hephaistos was, among the gods, the mule-rider par excellence, he was by no means the only mule-rider: it is incorrect to identify mule-riders automatically with Hephaistos[43].

What kind of animal is *the mule*? The mule can be considered as the plebeian variant of the horse. It stands outside civilisation through its irregular sexual behaviour and its bastard nature: so it cannot be a mark of the well-born, the ideal citizen. It is a utility animal and among other things pulls non-divine nuptial chariots. In addition, it is the mount of disabled persons such as Hephaistos. However, the mule is not a wild or dangerous animal like a boar or a lion: it lives outside the city but is not wild. Instead, it belongs to the intermediate zone, which is rural.

Satyrs have a great deal in common with the mule, even without considering the shape of their feet (the Kleitias version is not the usual one): most obvious is their unruly and purely playful sexual behaviour. The satyrs accompanying the mule-rider are not aggressive towards women: often they are shown dancing or with a musical instrument. The satyr immediately following the mule sometimes turns his head frontally towards the spectator, creating a direct link between the image and the user of the vase, as Dionysos does in the procession of deities on the François krater.

However, the strangest element in the series of figurations of the mule-rider is in some cases, in the same image, the co-existence of characters from fantasy, satyrs, together with Dionysian dancers with purely human features. In theory we can read images of this kind

---

[42] Moraw 1997, 74 (no. 114).

[43] Bron 1989, 165: ". . . il faut envisager la représentation d'un cavalier-comaste ou d'un cavalier participant à une procession rituelle . . .". Cf. also Lissarrague 1987, 44, who defines the procession of Hephaistos as "à la fois exceptionnel et exemplaire".

in two ways. They could be trying to evoke, with the actors, the characters that the actors are representing: the dancers would be the actors, the satyrs the characters on stage[44]. In the case of the satyrs, ubiquitous and varied as they are in vase painting, a reading of this kind is not convincing. It is difficult to imagine that all the satyrs of vase painting could be characters that only exist on a stage.

Another way of reading images of this kind is based on the hypothesis that they wish to evoke not a situation but an event, in the literal meaning of the term: something that is actually happening. In the thiasos of the mule-rider this means that there is a dancer who is transformed into—or feels himself becoming—a satyr. The frontal view is equivalent to the plea: know yourself, admit that you are turning into a satyr. Let us remember similar cases of the Boeotian symposium pottery from around 580 BCE that are more explicit[45]: in these cases, the metamorphosis of the dancer into a satyr took place at the ritual and not on the mythological level. Why, then, cannot the same apply in the case of the thiasos of the mule-rider? The attribution of the mule-rider theme to a ritual rather than to a mythological context would explain the oscillations from the motif of the bearded rider to the ephebe rider and the satyr rider. In addition, it would explain the variety of attributes. In fact, even scholars faithful to the traditional mythological interpretation have proven the ritual aspect of the subject. In this reading, Hephaistos has much the same status as Troilos: he becomes the mythological prototype of all mule-riders. If the images of mule-riders allude to a ritual, the ritual must go back to the story of Hephaistos[46]: we will come back to this later. Now let us consider the other components of the subject.

One component that was carried over to the 5th century Red figure is *Dionysos*. It has two peculiarities. One is that in attitude, attributes and clothing he is not distinguished in any way from the innumerable figurations of the god of wine in the normal thiasos[47], without a mule-rider. The second peculiarity is that there are no univocal indications of the position—and therefore the role—of Dionysos in respect of the rider: he may precede (and so guide) him, as in the Kleitias version; he may accompany him or even welcome

---

[44] Hedreen 1992, passim.
[45] The kantharos in Munich 419: see above on 37f. n. 85.
[46] Bron 1989, 165.
[47] To be discussed in Chapter 4.

him. The only certainty is that if the rider alludes to a ritual, then the ritual belongs to the sphere of Dionysos, i.e. to wine and probably to the symposium.

In many cases, for example on the krater by Lydos, there are also *dancing women* with the satyrs accompanying the mule-rider. Similar women are the partners of either satyrs or of dancers on the kylikes by Lydos just discussed[48]: they certainly belong to the realm of nature and are therefore to be called Nymphai rather than Mainades. What is the relationship between the dancing women in the thiasos of the mule-rider and the nymphs who are victims of the erotic aggression of satyr-like persons? It is quite probable that the transformation of the role of the nymphs from victims to partners of the satyrs goes hand in hand with the 'taming' of the satyrs, who have been transformed from savages (as on the Buffalo lekythos) into harmless figures respecting the rules of the symposium (as on the François krater and on other slightly older symposium containers preserved only as fragments)[49]. We will take up the thread of this discussion a little later.

Completely different from the nymphs in attitude and role is the *matronly bride* who can accompany the mule-rider, starting with the little Middle Corinthian amphora up to the Amasis Painter: a variation of this figure is Aphrodite on the François krater. This same type of women can form part of the thiasos even when the mule-rider is not present, but she can never be attributed to the satyrs. Her male partner is Dionysos, as on the Cycladic krater and in the medallions by the Heidelberg Painter. We do not rule out that her name is Ariadne. However, before this she is the prototype of the bride: as when—as on the outside of some kylikes[50]—the bride enters the setting of the symposium. The ritual connotation of the mule-rider is proven by a cup by the Amasis Painter where there are not one but two matronly brides in the same image[51].

Let us turn to the return of Hephaistos on the François krater. First, we must stress that this version represents the exception rather than the rule: and in fact, in spite of the artistic level of execution and the impressive quality of the image-bearer, it is not here that

---

[48] Kylikes in Taranto I.G. 4412 and Heraklion 217, discussed above on p. 48f.

[49] Fragments from Naukratis, Cortona and the United States, see above on p. 67 ns. 10 and 11.

[50] Discussed on p. 45.

[51] Cracow 30: Beazley, Addenda 46 (156.84), to be discussed on p. 187f.

the iconography of the mule-rider begins. If the normal series of the figurations of the mule-rider alludes to a ritual, the story of Hephaistos becomes its mythological model. Through the intercession of Dionysos, Hephaistos, the deformed and disowned son, is once again accepted on Olympus: however, this does not change the inferior status of the mule-rider. It is the Olympian family that welcomes him: but his expected union with Aphrodite, who must seal the new situation, is not without obstacles. The mythology is explicit: this marriage would not have had genealogical effects, would not have affected the history of the world. Hephaistos, in comparison, would have affected it: either as god of fire, and therefore of an indispensable element in civilised life; or as ancestor of the people of Athens from the seed scattered in the attempt to take possession of Athena, from which Erichthonios, the first king of Attica, would be born.

Following Hephaistos on the mule, we see a line of ithyphallic satyrs: the first with a full wine-skin, the second playing the double flute, the third with a nymph in his arms. To celebrate the return of Hephaistos and the reconciliation of the Olympian family, a symposium is expected. Women will also take part in this symposium: the nymphs that the satyrs went to fetch from the fountain. As shown by the combination of subjects on the François krater, the fountain is a crucial place both for the wild nymphs and for the girls who come out of the city to collect the water needed for civilised life and also necessary for the symposium. This point where the two opposed spheres of the city and 'outside', civilised life and the wild, come into contact is dangerous[52]: the same thing can happen as when an arrogant male attacked Polyxena. Obviously it is also possible, like the nymphs in mythology, to be taken by satyrs and carried in their arms to the symposium.

Who are the nymphs? The name itself, with its ambiguity, tells us: they are wild beings, like the satyrs. However, the same name also refers to women in the phase of life between parthenos and gyne: the phase in which female identity is strongly marked by sexuality[53]. Therefore, in a polis like Athens in the time of Solon, the

---

[52] On the erotic connotation of the fountain: Keuls 1985, 255–262.

[53] Garland 1990, 13; Andò 1996; Henrichs 1987, 100: "In the Archaic period, all females who had reached the age of sexual maturity, wether mythical figures or not, were called 'nymphs'. More specifically, the word carried a distinct sexual connotation and described a woman who was the object of male attention, which took the form either of marriage or rape". Daraki 1985, 98.

phase of nymph (a symbol of which is the fountain) becomes crucial for a female's journey through life. There are three possibilities available to girls in that phase. The well-born daughter could be betrothed by the father to a citizen (as happens, as we have seen, during a symposium), that is, she could be assigned the role of matronly bride. Or else she could become the victim of male arrogance, like Polyxena (whose name, "the girl of many guests", is perhaps revealing) and the nymphs of primordial times and of the wild world. As a third possibility, she could resign herself to entering the symposium in the role of partner to the satyrs, that is, as a hetaera[54].

We have already formulated the hypothesis[55] that the metamorphosis of the dancer into a satyr coincides with certain ritualised transitions from one identity to another. Undoubtedly, one characteristic of these transitions is sexuality, because, along with a wider social identity, in the setting of the symposium, the sexual role of a male changes from eromenos to erastes. The partner of the erastes can be male or female without distinction[56].

At this point, the role of Troilos, the victim of erotic pursuit by Achilles, becomes evident: he is clearly a mythological prototype, even if in tragic mode, of the eromenos[57]. In this role, he is the 'brother' of Polyxena, nymphe and mythological prototype of the well-born daughter exposed to the danger of erotic aggression when she goes to the fountain. We have met one of the iconographical forerunners of Troilos as a rider: the satyr riding a mule and attacking nymphs. This is because, in the life of the future citizen—and symposiast—the role of Troilos is normally followed by the role of satyr (or even Achilles). As a reflex of Achilles, the young man can become dangerous, not only for girls of "fountain" age but also for the whole polis.

---

[54] Villanueva-Puig 1988, 51. The identification of the satyr's partners with hetaerae is now also proposed by Moraw 1997, 247. The crucial role of the "fountain phase" in the life of a woman is clearly expressed by a hydria in the famous series from the end of the 6th century (London B 332: LIMC III, Dionysos 593) with Dionysos and Hermes at the two sides of a fountain from which girls are drawing water.

[55] See p. 60f.

[56] Cantarella 1990, 47. See also Cantarella 1992, where the argument is developed in more detail.

[57] Cf. Anthologia Graeca XII 191: the lover of a mature ephebe wonders by what miracle the beloved, yesterday still Troilos, could suddenly have become Priamos. On the ideal age of an eromenos see Cantarella 1992, 59f.

What does the presence of satyrs in the Return of Hephaistos signify? The first satyr after Hephaistos carries a wine-skin, an allusion to the consumption of wine and therefore to the symposium. Given that this image, unlike the standard image, is set not on the ritual but the mythological level, these satyrs cannot be confused with the dancers. This does not mean that they are not deeply ambiguous. Even though they are assimilated, along with the wineskin and the music, to the world of the symposium, they have many features in common with the mule. This explains why Hephaistos comes from a sphere outside the polis to the centre of civilised life: a sphere, however, that is more rural than wild. The feral connotations of the satyrs are also reminiscent of their iconographic precedents, which had emphasised their monstrous, violent and primordial side. Through the satyrs, this image of the Return evokes more than only the spatial dimension of the event, a temporal dimension: the satyr, in the form chosen by Kleitias, represents not only the 'outside' but also 'before': the phase that precedes—and conditions—the civilised present time. As in the procession of gods, then, also in the return of Hephaistos by Kleitias the temporal dimension is included, the comparison between 'before' and 'now'.

The role of Dionysos in the return of Hephaistos becomes clearer. If he is responsible for reintroducing Hephaistos to Olympus, and if the satyrs take part in this event, then Dionysos is also responsible for the metamorphosis of the satyrs from primitive and violent beings to beings who to some extent are animal like, but now 'tamed': compatible with the symposium (and with Olympus). The 'miracle' takes place in his ambit: dangerous beings, hostile to civilised life, are integrated within it and submit to its control. The symposium is seen as a crucial institution of the polis because it allows males struggling with their own sexuality to display and live that sexuality. But at the same time it defines its limits (in space and time) in order to guarantee stability in the polis. So the role of Dionysos in the Return of Hephaistos corresponds precisely to his role in the marriage of Peleus. By the institution of the symposium he is responsible, in fact, for the stability of the polis just as he was the guarantor of cosmic order governed by Zeus.

The indispensable element in this function of the symposium—to enable males to live their own sexuality in a controlled way, to be transformed into 'tamed' satyrs—is wine. In Olympian symposia one ate and drank, but the drink was not wine: wine was ascribed to

the human level. Wine differed not only from ambrosia but also from milk and honey: it was not found ready-made but had to be produced. To produce wine, knowledge, experience and work were needed. To obtain wine—as we are told by myths such as the Ikarios myth—was a difficult and dramatic process. It is one of the processes of the phase of putting order into the cosmos to which sacrifice also belongs, the institution that regulates communication between the divine and human spheres. We have already pointed out how the drinking-horn, one of the more common attributes of Dionysos and the grotesque dancers, presupposes sacrifice: the same applies to the wineskin. Sacrifice, wine and the symposium all belong to the "Promethean" moment of the life of the cosmos, to the phase in which the human race frees itself from wild living and at the same time clarifies its own relationship to the gods[58]. To this moment the Return of Hephaistos to Olympus is then attributed.

Hephaistos

Who exactly is Hephaistos[59]? Hephaistos, a bastard, because he is born to a mother or parents not yet joined in lawful wedlock[60], does not have the same rank as the other sons of Zeus. However, he is an indispensable son: without him and his art—an art that essentially consists of controlling fire—civilised life is impossible[61]. It is not possible for the Olympian family, who would be without meat sacrifices, just as it is not possible for the polis. The role of Hephaistos in the development of civilised life is therefore similar to the role of Dionysos and the association of these two gods in the myth of the Return seems logical.

However, there are also other similarities between the two gods, less obvious but more important. The Return of Hephaistos is a crucial element in the ordering of the cosmos that establishes the limits and channels of contact between the divine and human spheres. In addition, it restores the peace of the Olympian family. This peace cannot be the work of Ares, god of war: it is the work of Dionysos.

---

[58] Rudhart 1981, 209–226; Kerényi 1995, 165–169.

[59] On Hephaistos see Shapiro 1995, although I do not share all his evaluations (especially the one on p. 11 on the song of Demodokos in Hom. Od. 8, 266ff.).

[60] Kerényi 1997 I, 115; Shapiro 1995, 9f.: superficial interpretation of the legitimacy of Hephaistos.

[61] Hymn. Hom. ad Hephaest.

Dionysos was more suited to this than all the other gods. Indeed, even though he was conceived from a mortal woman, Dionysos is a son of Zeus: he is this in greater measure than his brothers are because he is the only one that Zeus brought to light after letting him grow within his own body. Dionysos, who is the offspring of both a paternal and a maternal pregnancy, is the most legitimate son of Zeus. The only child to boast the same rank is Athena. Incidentally, it is therefore not accidental if Dionysos is present in ancient images of the birth of Athena[62]. We will return to the relationship between Dionysos and his parents when Semele appears in the iconography[63]. We can now understand better that a doubly legitimate son re-introduced the bastard son to the Olympian family.

The shift from mythological image to actual history is then not too risky. The myth of the Return of Hephaistos projects into Olympus, so to say, the foundations of Solon's new lay-out of the city of Athens in the first decades of the 6th century. One of Solon's projects, recorded in later sources[64], was to summon back to their homeland Athenian citizens in exile: Hephaistos is the mythological prototype of the Athenian welcomed back to his homeland. Certainly, the craftsmen owed Solon their own social dignity[65]: Hephaistos is the patron of craftsmen and in Athens he enjoyed a central cult next to Athena.

The new status of craftsmen, presupposition of the prosperity of Athens, should probably be connected with the new rules of legitimacy, fundamental in Solon's arrangement of the polis into oikoi. For a son to be legitimate, not one but a series of legitimisations were required, in fact, during the journey from infancy to adulthood[66]. Even sons of parents with the status of citizens could turn out to be legally bastards if one of the legitimisations was missing: as a result, they could not enjoy the income of the oikos. It is easy to surmise that some of the craftsmen, forced to subsist from the

---

[62] On some Tyrrhenian amphorae that will be discussed on p. 153.

[63] Cup of the Kallis Painter, Naples Stg. 172, which will be analysed on p. 165ff.

[64] Raaflaub 1996 (Solon's character and work); Pagliara 1966 (law on the recall to the fatherland); Callipolitis-Feytmans 1976, 157f. and 1979, 208 (his possible connections with Attic pottery); Osborne 1996, 224f. seems to me too sceptical regarding the effects of Solon's work on Athenian craftsmanship.

[65] See the reference to Hephaistos and the craftsmen in frag. 1, 49ff. Gent.-Pr. (on the divine order); Gentili 1995, 217.

[66] Rudhart 1962.

work of their own hands and techne, were "legally bastard" sons with Hephaistos as their prototype[67].

Therefore, the return of Hephaistos to Olympus reflects Solon's pacification of Athens. This pacification was necessary because of the imminent danger of insurrections due to the social inequalities that arose in Attica during the course of the 7th century. In the interpretation of Sophilos—and then of Kleitias—the wedding of Peleus served to avoid another subversion, this time on the Olympian level. The historical reading of both the images of Dionysos on the François krater confirms their close coherence. It also confirms, indirectly, the "high" interpretation of the god of wine not as plebeian but as patron of the polis.

It is precisely the consistency of this Athenian and Solonian Dionysos that poses a problem that we cannot ignore: the presence of the mule-rider—who can be identified as Hephaistos when he has deformed feet[68]—in non-Attic pottery, the first examples of which[69] go back to the decades between 590 and 570 BCE. We should remember, in spite of his special link with Athens, that Hephaistos was an artisan god, lame and a bastard in the Homeric poems[70]. This is how he was known throughout the Greek world. Also universally Greek, according to ceramic art, it seems, was the connection between the mule-rider and Dionysos. Dionysos and the components of Dionysian imagery—dancers, satyrs and symposiasts—are present, as we have established in the chapter on small vases from the first half of the 6th century, everywhere in the Greek world and with similar meanings to those expressed by the Attic pottery painters. Once created, the subject of the mule-rider could have spread easily; especially since the social and institutional problems, for which Solon's reforms proposed the solutions mentioned, were particularly severe in Attica[71], but typical at that time for the Greek poleis in general. However, from a historical viewpoint it would be an error to undervalue the cultural permeability among the various poleis and regions of archaic Greece and between Greece and its neighbours, especially Etruria.

---

[67] Recent contributions on the nothoi are Ogden 1996 and Pepe 1998.

[68] LIMC IV, Hephaistos 103a–b (Caeretan hydriae), 132 (Laconian kylix: here, on p. 56).

[69] Amphoriskos Athens 664 (p. 24f.); Middle-Corinthian krater in London B 42: below, p. 99 with n. 104.

[70] LIMC IV 1, 628ff. (A. Hermary).

[71] Raaflaub 1996, 1059 and 1067.

It is sufficient to consider the great sanctuaries, extremely active platforms for exchanging art from everywhere, also from outside Greece, not to mention the mobility of poets and craftsmen.

The ritual of the mule-rider would have brought to mind, in Athens, a crucial moment in the history of the city. The ritual and the related image served—for the social structure in Athens and elsewhere—to emphasise how vital the integration of lower but indispensable classes was for the functioning of the polis. Rituals of this type are known in the setting of Dionysian festivals, rituals that seemed to reaffirm the plebeian nature of Dionysos, while they confirm his leading and stabilising role within the polis[72].

Therefore, a possible ritual with the mule-rider must have included a nuptial element as well: this is suggested by the presence of a female that is not a nymph in Corinthian and Attic examples before 540 BCE[73]. This presence is not surprising if one considers the iconographic links of the mule-rider with the symposium and of the symposium with weddings. Although the hypothesis has to be verified in other ways, either literary or epigraphic, we cannot exclude 'legal bastards', reinstated into the organism of the polis, being allowed to marry surplus well-born daughters. For such women this would be a fourth, but not very attractive possibility!

Other Attic dinoi and kraters

In respect of the luxury containers by Sophilos and Kleitias, we have glimpsed at the cosmological role attributed to Dionysos. Similarly, the image of the Return of Hephaistos to Olympus has led us towards reading the god of the symposium as a symbol of social integration within the polis. This reading is based on the observation that the Return as represented by Kleitias should be understood as antithetical and complementary to the pursuit of Troilos and Polyxena by Achilles, and can be confirmed among the minor communal symposium vases of the same period.

A *dinos* of which a few fragments[74] remain certainly still belongs to the decades before 570 BCE and so is contemporary to Sophilos.

---

[72] Kolb 1977, 120ff.
[73] Isler-Kerényi 2004, 50.
[74] Athens Acr. 610: Beazley, ABV 82.3.

In our context it seems indicative that here too the subject—or one of the subjects—of the main band is a wedding car accompanied by groups of females. However, we do not know whether the wedding depicted is a mythological wedding or an anonymous wedding, and so prototypical: but the difference is not essential if the wedding of Peleus and Thesis corresponds to the anonymous wedding as Troilus the rider corresponds to the ephebe on horseback, and as Hephaistos corresponds to the mule-rider. Besides confirming the connection between the function—and so the symbolic meaning—of the dinos and the subject of the decoration, these fragments support the idea of a link between wedding and Dionysos: on the band below, in fact, a series of Dionysian dancers is portrayed[75].

Even more significant and sequenced is the decoration of a *dinos*[76] stylistically close to the kylikes of the Siana type by the C Painter, dated to about or a little later than 570 BCE: that is, between the dinos by Sophilos and the François krater. The larger band has scenes of combat between hoplites on foot and warriors on quadrigae (or bigae?). The area beneath it portrays a row of mounted galloping ephebes. Both collocation and subject are frequent on many contemporary kraters, as we have noted in respect of the frieze on the François krater with the pursuit of Troilos. The band that interests us most is the one that is narrower than the others, which is placed under the rim and divided into five sections. The longest one has a series of seven symposium beds, each with a male couple, a series broken only by a female aulós-player, and adorned with dogs in various positions under the beds, as well as kylikes to be imagined as hanging on the walls. In spite of the minute and not very accurate painting, we can distinguish symposiasts of different ages, with and without beards, with short and long beards. On the second kline from the left, one of the table-companions is turning his face, with hairy beard and dishevelled hair, towards the onlooker: Is he maybe being metamorphosed into a satyr?

Next to this section, on the left is a scene of a Dionysian thiasos with ithyphallic satyrs (two of whom, playing the double aulós, have

[75] Hesperia 4, 1935, 216 fig. 1. 610b.

[76] Louvre E 876: Beazley, Addenda 24 (90.1); Bérard/Vernant 1984, 132f. fig. 187 (more legible than the one in CV Louvre 2, III Hd pls. 21–23, but incomplete); LIMC IV, Hephaistos 138b; Stähli 1999, 179f.

equine feet) and dancing nymphs. At least two of the satyrs accompany animals (a bull and a goat): probably for a sacrifice. Of a third animal—or satyr[77]—only the rear end of a horse or mule remains. The epicentre of the image comprises a mule-rider going towards the right, greeted by a male, who could be Dionysos, and by a woman, veiled decorously. Here also, in the field above the figures, kylikes can be seen hanging up: the setting of the procession is the symposium. The satyr leading the bull towards the right is followed by a section devoted to Dionysian dancers, arranged on the two sides of an enormous column krater. Above the krater is a drinking-horn and next to it, on the ground, is a smaller container, possibly a kylix. Also among the dancers, some of whom are ithyphallic and one has an outsize head (is he perhaps being transformed into a satyr?), are two flute-players; in addition there is an episode of the homosexual courtship of a younger dancer. It is difficult to say whether this is one of the examples of osmosis between the mythical and human levels already mentioned in connection with the François krater. In any case, the two vertical lines that separate the symposium from the thiasos are omitted between the section with the satyrs, nymphs, mule-rider, Dionysos(?) and the matronly bride and the section with the dancers.

Next to the section including the dancers, there is a centauromachy, an allusion to enjoying wine in an erroneous way because it is excessive[78]. Lastly, after two more vertical lines on the left, in an enriched version comprising a row of hoplites and a couple of horsemen, follows the episode of Troilos and Polyxena in the ambush-formula.

The combination of subjects in this band is illuminating, especially compared with the François krater. The mule-rider is inserted into typically Dionysian themes—even if not specifically mythological—but connoted positively, such as the dancers and the symposium. Antithetical to this side of the Dionysian world is the negative one, dominated by arrogant characters such as Achilles and the centaurs that break the rules for the good use of wine and sexuality.

The same order of ideas is illustrated on a third *dinos*[79] from these decades, probably a little later than the François krater, decorated

---

[77] Bérard/Vernant 1984, 133.
[78] Bérard/Vernant 1984, ibid.
[79] London B 46: Beazley, ABV 91.5.

with only two bands: above a symposium scene, below an animal frieze. The style of painting had developed monumentally, like Lydos, but the execution was not very accurate. Again, we see a series of seven klinai, each with a male couple. There are differences not only of age but also of attitude; one is gesticulating, another is proffering the drinking-horn, yet another is playing the aulós, someone is holding a kylix. Some of the beds have a dog underneath, various objects are hanging on the walls: wreaths, a lyre, a high, slender unguent vase. In a separate zone between the klinai, with an enormous krater in the centre, there are five bearded males of athletic build (but only two are naked). The one in the centre is dipping into the krater with a jug; the others, facing the first and last kline and holding wreaths or jugs, are turning their backs on him. The whole image seems to be a paraphrase of the male 'career' between the ages of ephebe and maturity, as presented in a symposium.

Two column kraters from the Lydos circle, of poor quality, but typical, illustrate the further course of the subject of Dionysian dancers in the years around or shortly before the middle of the century. *The first of the two kraters*[80] has, on both sides, five or six dancers of whom the central one is ecstatically playing the flute while the others are moving in various poses, evidently inspired by the poses of the dancers of the first quarter of the century. The only further decoration, an anonymous bearded head, is on the platform above the handles. It is reminiscent of the bearded head already seen on an oversized Corinthian aryballos, the proposed reading of which was as an allusion to maturity, the goal of the ephebic phase[81]. The mythological prototype of this anonymous bearded character could be Dionysos himself as in the medallions of kylikes by the Heidelberg Painter, when he is in front of the anonymous husband (perhaps Peleus)[82].

The *second example* is similar[83]. However, the three dancers only occur on side A, framed by enormous crouching sphinxes which foreshadow the animals of side B. One could call the whole example a final reflex, rough and simplified, of the Corinthian dancers

[80] Louvre E 655: CV 12, III He pl. 164.2–4.
[81] Würzburg L 110, discussed on p. 21.
[82] See p. 45f. We will discuss this alter ego of Dionysos on p. 146f. in connection with the amphorae by the Affecter.
[83] Louvre E 679: Beazley, Para 51 (125.30).

positioned in the middle of the animal frieze, according to the traditional formula of the wild world of 'outside', opposed to the world of the symposium, here evoked exclusively by the vase itself, the krater. On the platform of the handles, there is a youthful head: if it is of an ephebe, it is reminiscent of the head on the medallions of some cups of the Lydos circle[84] and alludes to the ephebic phase; if it is female, it could allude to the goal of marriage[85].

Consequently, the Dionysian dancers do not leave the repertoire of communal vases: we find them, in fact, on a *dinos in the Louvre* dated to the second half of the century[86]. But from 560 BCE onwards, on dinoi, scenes of combat such as the Amazonomachy or Gigantomachy predominate[87], similar to the one, anonymous to us, on the main band of the dinos just considered[88]. In view of the role of Dionysos at the wedding of Peleus, pointed out by Sophilos and Kleitias as we have seen, the participation of the god also in the Gigantomachy is not surprising. The best known example is a dinos, the fragments of which were found on the Acropolis in Athens[89], *signed by Lydos*, author of this Gigantomachy and others[90]. Dionysos fights in the section on the left, which is behind Zeus together with Hermes, Aphrodite and Hephaistos. He is distinguished from the other gods by his ivy wreath and because he is assisted by fierce animals (three lions and a panther) who are attacking his antagonist and tearing him to pieces[91]. In another contemporary Gigantomachy, besides the lion who accompanies him, there is an enormous serpent

---

[84] Taranto 20273 and I.G. 4492, discussed on p. 48.

[85] Isler-Kerényi 1997a, 530 and n. 73; other examples of male and female heads on platforms of kraters from the Lydos circle: Oxford G 577: Beazley, ABV 124, 21; Oxford G 125: Beazley, ABV 125, 24; Tuna-Nörling 1995, pl. 13.118j.k.

[86] Louvre E 738: Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 282 fig. 138.

[87] Louvre E 875: Beazley, ABV 104.123; Athens Acr. 607: Beazley, Addenda 29 (107.1); Athens Acr. 648: ABV 137.68; Vienna 3619: Beazley, Addenda 38 (140.3); Madrid 10902 L.62: Beazley, Addenda 72 (275.133).

[88] Louvre E 876.

[89] Athens Acr. 607: Beazley, Addenda 29 (107.1). The participation of Dionysos in Gigantomachies on black figure pottery is discussed at length by Carpenter 1986, 55–75, but his conclusion that it is the result of oriental influences (and therefore that Dionysos was originally extraneous to the Gigantomachy) is not at all convincing. See also LIMC IV, Gigantes 170–176 (versions with many actors with Dionysos sometimes attested) and 289–293 (Gigantomachy of Dionysos) with the relevant comment by F. Vian on pp. 261f. and Gasparri 1986, 502.

[90] Athens Acr. 631a: Beazley, Addenda 29 (108.6); Moore 1979, 83 n. 38.

[91] Moore 1979, 85ff. figs. 1 and 2.

that he uses as a weapon[92]. These figurations give the impression that the contribution of Dionysos to this decisive event in the history of the world was certainly not secondary. The Gigantomachy of the north frieze of the Siphnians treasury at Delphi[93] fully confirms this impression. His position to the left of Zeus, the choice of his divine allies and the association with wild beasts emphasise the fact already noted that Dionysos also acts in the marginal regions of the cosmos. In fact, by his participation, these regions, which oppose the order of the polis, become caught up in the event. The victory over the Giants marks the definitive affirmation of the rule of Zeus in the whole cosmos.

It is not at all surprising that this event is represented on a vase of the rank and multiple value of the dinos, nor that this task of the god of wine[94] could be recorded during a symposium. In the perspective of the human life portrayed as a succession of phases of age and social roles, the scenes of Gigantomachy, like the scenes of collective combat in general, in addition show the completely mature ideal warrior: so they are suitable themes for decorating communal symposium vases. From Exekias up to about 500 BCE, the completely black dinos evoking the distinguished bronze prototype became fashionable. Decoration is restricted to the rim: the recurrent motif is a row of ships: the "journey" between two identities; a metaphor of the actual symposium, as we will see. This metaphor illuminates another famous metaphor of the "wine-dark sea", to which we will return in connection with the famous cup of Exekias, with Dionysos on a ship[95].

To conclude this discussion of Attic communal symposium vases we will consider the well-known *column krater by Lydos*[96], which has the figuration of the Dionysian thiasos, with Dionysos in the centre of side A and the mule-rider in the centre of side B. It allows us to return to the discussion on the identity of the participants in the thiasos, begun regarding its kylikes[97]. On side A, we see the hieratic

---

[92] LIMC IV, Gigantes 171.

[93] LIMC III, Dionysos 651 and IV, Gigantes 2.

[94] There is no reason to maintain, with Carpenter 1986, 69, that "the Dionysos of the Gigantomachy . . . has nothing to do with wine . . .".

[95] Munich 2044, analysed on p. 171ff.

[96] New York 31.11.11: Beazley, Addenda 29 (108.5); Shapiro 1989, pl. 39d; Shapiro 1995, pl. 74c; LIMC III, Dionysos 563 and IV, Hephaistos 138a.

[97] Taranto I.G. 4412 and Heraklion 217, discussed on p. 48f.

figure of Dionysos with the drinking-horn and an ivy-branch in his left hand. In his right—and this is a new feature—the god is dragging a heavy branch with grape-clusters hanging from it: we will consider this combination of attributes in respect of the Dionysian images by the Amasis Painter[98]. The two satyrs of the thiasos, the first of whom is playing a flute, also carry ivy and vines. The image evokes a lively procession with the god of wine appearing with the mule-rider. The gesture of the second satyr from the left, the one immediately behind the flute-player, combined with the hieratic nature of the god, suggests an epiphany, a sudden appearance of the god. Another of the satyrs who precedes Dionysos carries a brimming wine-skin. The painter has taken care to distinguish young satyrs from older satyrs, who are hairy all over. Below, in connection with the amphorae by the Amasis Painter, the meaning of this distinction will be discussed. The female companions of the satyrs are identical to those already seen on the Lydos cups, even if executed more accurately: wild nymphs, partners either of the satyrs or of simple dancers. However, here they carry—and this is new—huge serpents[99].

The mule-rider on side B is also surrounded by a thiasos. In the absence of specific attributes or a deformed foot, he could be either Hephaistos or an anonymous rider in a ritual event. Some of the accompanying satyrs display gigantic bunches of grapes, and one of them is carrying the usual brimming wineskin. On closer inspection, at the centre of the image is not the rider but a satyr reminiscent of the figure of Dionysos on the François krater: in fact, he is moving with bent legs and is turning his face like a mask towards the outside of the image. This gesture is emphasised by the motif of the two raised arms framing the face[100]: the appeal to anyone looking at the vase, evidently the one using it and those around him, i.e. the symposiast, could not be clearer. Therefore, we have an additional argument in favour of identifying the symposiast as the satyr, who is no different, according to the kylikes from the Dionysian dancer. Evidently, in this fluctuation between identity as a human and identity as a satyr expressed by the thiasos, the grape and wine have an important role.

---

[98] Pp. 130–143.

[99] For Shapiro, 1989, 9, because of this attribute, they are maenads: but why could not nymphs also hold serpents?

[100] At this point the restoration is well below the level of Lydos.

Corinthian kraters

In Corinthian painted pottery, the krater is the most important shape as an image-bearer of complex images. A statistic on the subjects of the decoration reveals a situation similar to the Attic Siana cups. The most common motif, apart from groups of animals that continue the tradition of the animal frieze, is the figuration of young horse-riders, present on 47 out of 80 pieces recorded by Bakir[101]. Often, however, the motif is in the secondary frieze, as on the François krater and on the Louvre dinos[102]. War scenes with battles, chariots, warriors leaving on chariots and hoplite duels recur often (about 22 examples). Among the explicitly Dionysian scenes the preferred scene contains dancers (16 examples), followed by the symposium (11 examples, including Herakles at the symposium of Eurytos). The dancers are no different from those appearing on small shapes: they are dancing in the same way and have the drinking-horn as an attribute.

Two kraters have been discussed often in the past for their Dionysian themes. One, in the Louvre, is called the *"Dümmler" krater*. It has unique and mysterious scenes, which confirms the link between the grotesque dancers and wine[103]. To the same phase of late Middle Corinthian, that is between 580 and 570 BCE (i.e. the time of the Sophilos dinos), belongs the *British Museum krater* with, on one side, a hoplite duel and a heroic quadriga leaving, and on the other, a procession with the mule-rider[104], who, from his deformed feet, could be Hephaistos. The most remarkable fact in respect of the Attic parallels is that there are no satyrs in the procession. To the right of the rider there are three males: a couple of dancers, one with a drinking horn, and a running figure who seems to be urging the mule. The rider, who has a drinking-horn in his hand, is turning backwards towards a dignified male figure, also with a drinking-horn: nothing prevents seeing him as Dionysos. The last two are ordinary looking men, the first carrying a wineskin and a little jug.

---

[101] Bakir 1974, 10–20.
[102] Louvre E 876.
[103] Louvre E 632: Amyx 1988, 233 and pl. 102, 1.
[104] London B 42: Amyx 1988, 234 and pl. 102.2; LIMC III, Dionysos 549.

This figuration adds nothing essentially new or different in respect of what has already been noted concerning the mule-rider in Attica[105]. One has the impression that the significance of this motif is essentially the same as in Athens: a myth or ritual associated with the transportation of wine from 'outside' into the polis, an image that alludes to integration into the social body of lower ranking figures through the action of Dionysos. There are no satyrs, it is true, but we know of a sufficient number of Attic examples that, besides satyrs, show dancers similar to them[106]. Even so, the absence of satyrs on these Corinthian kraters confirms what we have noted in respect of dancers: even wishing to evoke similar phenomena, the iconographic choices of Athens and Corinth do not coincide completely.

Fig. 43 In this perspective, a *piece from a late Corinthian krater found at Flious*[107] on which Dionysos is explicitly named, is especially interesting. The god is portrayed in the main band, running towards the right, followed by a troop of ithyphallic satyrs accompanied by naked nymphs. This figuration comes from the Late Corinthian period, a period in which the Corinthian pottery painters emulated their Attic colleagues. Therefore, Seeberg is correct in stressing that the figure of the satyr was known also in Corinth[108]. Naked dancers on *a contemporary krater in Lithuania*[109] correspond to the naked nymphs of the fragment. The closest similarities in Attic production occur on Tyrrhenian amphorae[110]: with the Amasis Painter, it will become clear that the female dancers are hetaerae, whose mythic model is the female companion of satyrs.

To summarise in respect of Dionysian themes, we can say that the Corinthian kraters are less explicit than their Attic parallels. These, instead, have a Dionysian repertoire particularly rich in narrative elements, even compared with contemporary cups. The decoration on kylikes is allusive, whereas on the kraters the characters are more specific and there is a tendency to distinguish between the mythical and human levels.

---

[105] See on p. 82ff.
[106] Louvre E 860, to be discussed on p. 150f.
[107] Corinth Ph-p-228: Amyx 1988, 620.
[108] Seeberg 1971, 4: "Silens emphatically were not strangers in Corinth . . .".
[109] Kaunas Tt 1094: Sidrys/Skiudiene 1999.
[110] For example, Munich 1431, discussed on p. 150.

Laconian symposium vases

A significant Dionysian piece is the *dinos* attributed to the Rider Painter[111], dated between 550 and 540 BCE: so it is more recent than almost all the Attic communal vases just discussed. More than half the upper frieze, the main frieze, is filled by a centauromachy of Herakles executed with an abundance of original details. A scene with dancers follows on the left. On the two sides of a large krater containing a jug, on the left, is a fat, bearded person with a drinking vessel in his right and an object that could be a drinking-horn in his raised left hand. The other dancer, also fat but clearly younger, must originally have represented an aulós-player, as the incisions across his cheek suggest. Unfortunately, however, the restoration has erased the aulós. These two figures are larger that all the others, which gives special weight to this section of the figured band. It is followed on the left by the episode of Achilles in ambush behind the fountain which Troilos and Polyxena are approaching. The combination of subjects, already present on the François krater and the Louvre dinos[112], alludes to the positive and negative effects of wine and therefore to the crucial role of the rituals of wine in civilised life.

Some of the more accurate figurations of Laconian dancers appear on the back of a sumptuous *hydria from Rhodes*[113]. The main image shows a hoplite duel over a hero's corpse, framed by ephebe grooms on both sides. There are two dancing couples on the back of the two sides of the attachment of the vertical handle. The state of preservation prevents verifying whether they are of differing ages: the two on the left are bearded. They are accompanied by several attributes: flowers, various fruit and drinking-horns. In the intervening spaces is a sort of ducks, some very simplified rosettes and square objects that could be musical instruments. Under each of the horizontal handles an ephebe running among aquatic birds can be seen.

---

[111] Louvre E 662: Stibbe 1972, no. 313 pls. 110.4 and 111.

[112] Louvre E 876, discussed on p. 150f.; cf. instead Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 255 figs. 104–105: "Il n'y a apparemment aucun rapport entre les scènes héroïques et le groupe des danseurs . . .".

[113] Rhodes 15373: Stibbe 1972, no. 219 pls. 75–77.

There are no special elements on this hydria, dated about ten years before the dinos just considered. Here too, as in the Corinthian, Attic and Laconian kylikes[114], the dancers are linked to a scene of heroic battle; but this theme, typically male, is found on a hydria, a shape more suited to female settings. However, as we have seen in connection with the François krater, the setting of the hydria and therefore of the fountain are among the closest to the symposium: this can be illustrated by an *Attic lekythos in Vienna* with nymphs, one of whom, in the presence of Dionysos, is pouring water from a hydria into a krater[115].

Ionian dinoi

More recent, dating to about 530 BCE, but included in this chapter for the theme, are two similar dinoi of the Campana Group, with a picture of the mule-rider surrounded by dancing satyrs and being welcomed by a male standing with dignity: Dionysos or his ritual alter-ego[116]. One of the satyrs is playing the double aulós; the others are holding drinking-horns and two of them are holding a wine-skin. The frieze also includes a dinos on a tripod, which in the Würzburg example has a painted-over decoration, now almost invisible, of a satyr mask[117]: an allusion to the fact that the contents of the dinos, i.e. wine, evoke satyrs, make them extant. The conceptual link of the mule-rider with the symposium, whether or not he is Hephaistos, is expressed more directly than in the examples of Corinthian, Attic and Laconian pottery considered so far. These two pieces, in any case, illustrate how the mule-rider was also a universally Greek theme.

Conclusion

At the close of this chapter we will summarise the new elements that have emerged, which are many and important. The fact that the

---

[114] Chapter 2.
[115] Vienna 364: Villanueva-Puig 1988, fig. 7a–b.
[116] Würzburg H 5352: CV pls. 26–28; LIMC III, Dionysos 552 and VIII Suppl., Silenoi 25; Louvre Cp. 10233: Ghiron-Bistagne 1974, 218 fig. 72. On the Campana Group see Boardman 1998, 221.
[117] CV 35 fig. 18.

repertoire of communal symposium vases, besides figurations of a similar kind to the individual drinking vessels, includes images that recall mythical events of cosmological significance and political meaning, such as the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the Return of Hephaistos to Olympus, the Gigantomachy, is not surprising. From these richer and more explicit images than those appearing on contemporary vases for individual use, which are essentially allusive, we can extract more precise information on all the characters of the Dionysian world: dancers, satyrs, the mule-rider, various types of Dionysian woman and Dionysos himself.

In the whole of the repertoire considered, nothing new is said about *dancers* especially as there are fewer of them, whereas there are more satyrs. However, the close identity between the two remains confirmed as does the hypothesis proposed in respect of the Boeotian drinking vessels of the first half of the 6th century: *satyrs* are metamorphosed human participants in the symposium. This does not mean that they do not also belong to the mythological sphere: because the satyrs of the day had to refer to mythological models. The mythological satyrs are, according to the Athenian painters, of two types: one wild and aggressive towards women and one in comparison domesticated and friendly—even if always connoted sexually—towards their female partners. As we have seen, these two types of satyr belong to the same period of vase-painting: but they are considered to belong to two different phases of cosmological becoming. The wild satyr belongs to a primitive stage, marked by the clear opposition between inside and outside, between culture and nature. The tame satyr belongs to the present (or at least to a later time): to a phase in which the transition between outside and inside is considered to be gradual and indirect. Between the two contrasting spheres, an intermediate sphere is interposed in which the mule-rider is also set and with him the manufacture and transportation of wine. The presence of the two different mythical prototypes of the satyr means, then, that the dancer, in being transformed into a satyr, must follow the appropriate model: he will become a satyr but not to the extent of becoming a dangerous, subversive element[118]. Instead, the

[118] Instead, Calame 1996 seems to consider the satyr only as an anti-model. The satyr would be equivalent to the participant in the symposium who abandons himself to excessive erotic games (89) or to the immoderate consumption of wine (147) and who therefore attracts disapproval and derision. Similarly also Stähli 1999.

ideal is a controlled metamorphosis and so male sexuality, free from procreative purposes, is allowed space and time, even if well constrained.

This space and time require the presence of a female. If the satyr is no longer the primitive and dangerous being of the past, *the woman* is also more a companion than prey. Yet, it is obvious that it is a particular kind of woman, belonging exclusively to that space and time, not identifiable with women assigned to men when they are not satyrs. One of the most important roles is evidently to guide the oikos and guarantee its continuity beyond the present generation: i.e. to procreate legitimate sons. A different type of woman belongs to this role, the matronly bride. There then arises a problem typical of the female condition in the archaic polis: When and how is one of the two roles assigned to the individual women: partner of the satyrs or matronly bride? The François krater has given us an indication: the moment was the nymph's, the place—one of the places possible and suitable—the fountain (outside the city but not yet in the wild). The water from the fountain is intended for two settings: the oikos and the symposium. Like water, the nymph carrying the hydria can also be intended for either of these two settings (unless she becomes the prey of an arrogant male, like Polyxena of Achilles).

In this way, we have reached *Dionysos*, whose mythological role materialises on three important occasions: the wedding of Peleus, the Return of Hephaistos to Olympus and the Gigantomachy, although, of all those discussed, the Attic vases express it most clearly. In these events, he takes on a crucial role: to stabilise and civilise. He can assume this role because, being the most legitimate of the sons of Zeus, he is anything but a plebeian god. His dignity and role are also assigned to him in the setting of the symposium: just as he was guarantor of the cosmic order of Zeus at the wedding of Peleus, now, by means of the wedding of the symposiasts, he continues to guarantee order and the continuation of the polis. However, order and continuity are possible only because, in the setting of the symposium, space and time are granted for escape, for periodic 'lapses' into a pre-civilised condition. Therefore, the presence of Dionysos is not limited to the sphere of order and civilisation but is extended also to savage nature: and, logically, to the intermediate, transitional zone, of the countryside and manual labour. He is, then, god of the symposiast and of the satyr, god of the nymph and the matronly

bride, of the well-born ephebe and the bastard: he is the one whom all of them, however different from each other, and each endowed with a characteristic biographical course of his own, can always meet again.

Beyond the role of Dionysos described, the temporal dimension expressed by the mythological image is very relevant. This dimension inserts the action assigned to Dionysos, as for example the myths concerning Demeter, and Prometheus, into a process of the formation of the world. That is, mythology expresses a conception of the world that is not static but historical: apart from the mythological events of the earliest times, which have now ended, there are events closer to the present, which determine its order in a more specific way. Accordingly, it is not excluded that mythology can continue to happen even in the present: therefore, Dionysos can continue to act in the life of humans.

The material discussed is chiefly Attic. The non-Athenian examples—Corinthian, Laconian and Ionian—do not contradict the image just reconstructed of Dionysos and the persons in his retinue: but neither do they add anything new or different. Rather, the chronological and stylistic relationships between the various pieces make it likely that the Attic conception had influenced the conception of painters from elsewhere. It would seem, then, that the cosmological Dionysos is an Athenian interpretation from the first decades of the 6th century of a god known throughout the whole of the Greek world: a version of the age of Solon that could be connected with his political activity.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE THIASOS OF DIONYSOS: AMPHORAE AND SIMILAR VASES OF THE 6TH CENTURY BCE

The symposium-pottery discussed in the previous chapters has supplied a series of indications and hypotheses for reconstructing an organic and sufficiently sequenced image of Dionysos and has confirmed his central position in the Athenian—and generally Greek—conceptual view of the world. We can now state that, at the latest in about 550 BCE, Dionysos, together with the characters and symbols of his world, formed an integral part of Greek life and thought. However, the masculine perspective was still clearly predominant: a logical deduction of the vases taken into consideration, all intended principally for the symposium. All the female characters of the Dionysian world must be considered, in the repertoire just discussed, in relation to the male life as reflected in the context—whether real or symbolic—of the symposium.

From the interpretation proposed, however, characteristics of Dionysos also emerge that could interest the world of women independently of the male perspective. If the life of men were made up of phases and recurrent transitions, and if it were felt that the god of wine was present during them—crucial for both the individual and the community to which he belonged—it could not be excluded that something similar also applied to women: the life of females also consists of phases that coincide with age and social distinctions and corresponding images that are well-defined[1]. However, we have seen—and later on we will see better—that onto this horizontal arrangement of life-phases of women, is superimposed a vertical sequence of social membership.

In the female world represented by vase painters there are women who take on specific roles representing their own social classes and cannot be confused with women of different social statuses: the

[1] Brulé 1987, 378 and passim; Garland 1990, 200; Bruit Zaidman 1993, 378ff.; Andò 1996, 47.

matronly-bride and the female companion of the satyrs could be considered. In iconography[2], this twofold membership distinguishes between female and male Dionysian typology.

With regard to the fountain motif on the François krater, we have seen Dionysos going into action between the nymphs in which the two categories—age and social class—are confused and so create ambiguous situations. This is not the only case, as the Dionysian repertoire of the amphorae will show us. But probably Dionysos did not enter the female world through wine, given that women who did not take part in the symposium were forbidden to drink it[3]. And pottery, which is a production linked mainly to the male institution of the symposium, is unable to give an image of Dionysos as he is seen from a female perspective: if anything were able to do so it would be image-bearers created by women for women, such as textiles, for example[4].

However, pottery includes some shapes intended less exclusively for masculine use than kylikes and kraters: among these we have already come across the hydria, connected with nymphs on a practical and a symbolic level. More important in terms of number and quality, is the amphora: a shape that became and remained the privileged image-bearer of Dionysian images, as we shall see, from about 560 BCE to well beyond the 6th century.

The amphora is one of the few shapes that 6th century pottery inherited from the 7th century and from the Geometric Age. Together with the shape, presented from its onset in the two main variants with a continuous profile and a separate neck, it at first retained its twofold function as a container for oil, wine or other foodstuffs and as a grave-marker: this is indicated by the find-spots and the type of decoration, sometimes only on one side or with figures that function as guardians of tombs, such as sphinxes, lions and sirens[5]. During the 6th century, the amphora tended to become an numerically important shape[6]; far more than dinoi and kraters, even if fewer

---

[2] In fact, males who are not citizens are hardly ever portrayed.

[3] Henrichs 1982, 141; Murray 1987, 121; Villanueva-Puig 1988, 53: ". . . on a l'impression d'avoir comme le reflet de pratiques cultuelles: elles consisteraient à manipuler le vin sans y toucher".

[4] Keuls 1985, 240–248.

[5] As shown by the first amphorae in the list in Beazley, ABV 3 above; 4.1 (the Nettos Painter); 3.1 and 2; 5.2; 6 (halfway down the page); 9.7–9; 21.1; 49.3.

[6] The approximate ratios in percentages derived from Beazley's list of black figured vases are as follows:

than kylikes. This was not the case, at least as suggested by Beazley's list, at the beginning of Black figure, when the production of pottery was concentrated not only on kylikes and skyphoi, but also on lekythoi, oinochoai, basins (lekanai), plates. The appreciable increase in number recorded around 550 BCE must be related to the growing importance of the Etruscan market for the production of the Kerameikos[7]. We still do not know what the historical situation was in Athens that encouraged decorators of amphorae to adopt the Dionysian repertoire. It is also probable that it was relevant for Etruria: but this problem concerns the history of Etruscan culture and can only be studied in that context[8].

The decoration on amphorae was initially of two types: the animal frieze on neck amphorae[9] and the equine protome on belly amphorae[10]. The equine protome can be replaced by horse-riders or a female bust. The motif of the horse and the horse-rider, and with it the belly amphora, have hypothetically been connected with the first stage of maturity in the life-cycle of a male[11]; confirmation of this will be given below. However, already at this stage, the amphorae of the Polos Painter[12] document the presence of a female element that is more important than in other shapes: then the female element becomes exclusive to amphorae with long and narrow necks, the loutrophoroi[13]. Later we will understand better why this is the case.

– chapters I and II: amphorae: 25%, kraters and dinoi: 15%, cups 40%, other shapes: 20%;
– chapters III–IX (omitting VIII, on Tyrrhenian amphorae), that is by the second quarter of the 6th century: amphorae: over 25%, kraters and dinoi: over 10%, cups: over 58%;
– chapters X–XII, third quarter of the century: amphorae: 28%; kraters and dinoi: 2%, cups: over 60%; with Tyrrhenian amphorae: amphorae: 40%, cups: over 50%.

[7] Carpenter 1986, 34ff. The increase would be even more considerable if the Tyrrhenian amphorae could be placed, as Beazley still thought, in the second quarter of the 6th century: Canciani 1997, 778f.

[8] Today the relationship between Archaic Greece and Etruscan cities has to be re-evaluated: Isler-Kerényi 1997a, 532ff.; D'Agostino 1998; Isler-Kerényi 1999a.

[9] As for example in the work of Sophilos: Beazley, ABV 38.1–3.

[10] Beazley, ABV 15f.1–45 and Addenda 4ff.; Boardman 1990, 19.

[11] Scheibler 1987, passim and 118.

[12] Beazley, ABV 43f.

[13] A precursor is Eleusis 767: Beazley, ABV 21.1 (two women on both sides of the neck). For an overview of 6th century loutrophoroi see Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997.

The thiasos and the female companions of Dionysos

Prototypical women

By far the most frequent Dionysian subject on 6th century amphorae is the thiasos, a group of male and female characters moving around or in front of Dionysos: still one of the most widespread themes throughout the 5th century[14]. We have already considered this subject in two contexts: on kylikes of the Siana type starting with the Heidelberg Painter and in respect of the mule-rider. In both cases the motif emerged shortly before or around 560 BCE.

Fig. 44–45

The first *amphora with the thiasos*, which has a shape that was inspired by the Panathenaic amphorae, should also be dated to around 560 BCE, close to Nearchos[15], a potter and painter who is stylistically intermediate between Kleitias and Exekias[16]. On side A one can see Dionysos standing in a dignified manner with a beautiful kantharos in his hand, in front of a dancing satyr: clearly it is an epiphany of the god. From his proportions, the satyr is reminiscent of the pot-bellied dancers; his profile reminds of the masks of satyrs on Attic oinochoai from the first quarter of the century[17]. In the panel on side B we see a monumental cockerel with flowers on a long stalk: the predominant connotation could be erotic[18]. In the two panels on the neck there are busts of anonymous bearded men, like those already seen on the handle-plates of column-kraters from the Lydos circle[19]: an allusion, we think, to the stage of maturity, the Dionysian goal in the life of a man. This decoration on the neck is repeated on an amphora from the same stylistic setting[20], with two couples of anonymous bearded men standing, facing each other on the larger panel on both sides. On the neck of a third, similar amphora[21] there are only floral decorations. In the larger panels, once again, there

---

[14] Hedreen 1992, 3; Carpenter 1997, 1 n. 1. But in fact the Dionysian images are even more numerous if the grotesque dancers are included as well as the satyrs.
[15] Munich 1447: Beazley Addenda 22 (81.1, below).
[16] Boardman 1974, 35.
[17] Beazley, ABV 10.2 (Taranto) and 3 (Berlin Univ.); Addenda 3.1bis (Athens, Agora P 24945).
[18] As on the medallions of kylikes of the Siana type and in images of the symposium on Laconian pottery, see above p. 54f.
[19] See p. 95.
[20] Munich 1448: Beazley Addenda 24 (88).
[21] Munich 1449: CV 7 pl. 328.3 and 4.

are two persons standing: on side A, a mantled youth holding a spear, facing a generically matronly woman, even if not veiled, like the one seen on cups of the Siana type in the context of a symposium and interpreted as an allusion to betrothal[22]; on side B, a youth exactly like the one on side A, facing a mantled bearded man holding a spear. What, then, is the common denominator between these five similar images[23], which are not explicitly Dionysian but anonymous? They all evoke the stage between youth and adulthood in masculine mode and therefore belong to the typical repertoire of amphorae from this period, a repertoire directed, as we have seen, towards the world of early male maturity. The figures, distinguished only by age and social status, even though they have no name, become model characters, prototypes, with which anyone using the vase immediately identified himself. And it is precisely in this sphere—prototypical rather than mythological—that Dionysos is set and with him the characters of the thiasos, making access to it difficult for us, foreign as we are to that frame of reference[24].

If the common denominator between these three amphorae is the allusion to the transition from the age of an ephebe to the age of an adult, it must also be valid for the satyr who meets Dionysos[25]: which does not at all contradict what has emerged about the satyrs in the preceding chapters. This way of seeing satyrs is in any case canonical throughout the whole of 6th century. In fact, figurations of the type discussed are connected to similar, if more elaborate versions, from the third quarter of a century. On both sides of an *unassigned belly amphora*[26], from about 540 BCE, Dionysos with an ivy crown is greeted emphatically—as indicated by the gestures and the open mouths—on the right and the left, by ithyphallic satyrs: on one side the god carries a large kantharos in one hand and an ivy branch

Fig. 46

[22] See p. 45.

[23] Also sharing the same provenance (Vulci).

[24] Instead, Hedreen 1992 does not take the category of "prototypical" into account. Therefore, for Dionysian images he has to hypothesise scenic models: that is, the satyrs of vase painting would reproduce the satyrs of satyr plays. His opening question, "What was the basis of the popularity of the silens in Greek art and literature?" (p. 1), remains unanswered. This in no way diminishes the usefulness of this study to which we will refer frequently below.

[25] It is not accidental that a fourth amphora, close to the three discussed, shows grotesque dancers on one side: Louvre E 827 (CV III He pl. 9.1 and 4).

[26] Basel L 21: Berger/Lullies 1979, 57–60; Bothmer 1985, 50 fig. 48.

together with a vine branch with hanging bunches of grapes in the other, on the opposite side are two vine branches. The figuration of a thiasos on another *belly amphora*, in which Dionysos is holding the drinking horn instead of the kantharos, is similar[27].

The figurations of the thiasos in this period generally have a larger number of figures, as is evident in the *amphorae from Group E*, a little before and contemporary with Exekias[28]. In fact, Dionysos with dancing satyrs is one of the recurring subjects, alongside the labours of Herakles and anonymous scenes of war and athletics[29]. In an initial phase, the female companions of the satyrs, called "maenads" by Beazley, were less frequent[30]. They occurred more frequently as they became a part of the normal thiasos, on vases that continued the tradition of Group E in the decades after 530 BCE, the amphorae from the circle of the Lysippides Painter[31], and the hydriae by the Antimenes Painter and his vicinity[32].

The female figure that Beazley calls Ariadne—the question of her name will be discussed later—should be added to the thiasos of the satyrs[33]. It is in the centre of the image, in front of Dionysos, who is holding a drinking horn and an ivy branch in his hand. In the

---

[27] Rhodes, from Ialysos: Beazley, ABV 265.1, below.

[28] Boardman 1974, 56.

Fig. 47

[29] Louvre F 55: Beazley Addenda 35 (133.4); LIMC III.2, Dionysos 286); Baden, Roš: Beazley ABV 133.5; Naples 2725: Beazley ABV 133.6; Copenhagen 7068: Beazley ABV 134.14 (one of the satyrs has no tail); LIMC III.2, Dionysos 288); Boulogne 88: Beazley ABV 134.26; Chiusi 1806: Beazley Addenda 36 (135.32); Orvieto, Faina: Beazley ABV 135.41; Budapest: Beazley ABV 137.58. The formula remains in vogue, as we have said, right up to red figures; Hedreen 1992, 75.

Fig. 51–52

[30] Würzburg 250: Beazley Addenda 36 (136.48:); Louvre F 36bis: Beazley ABV 142.8; Louvre F 3: Beazley ABV 297.12. Add the neck amphora from Group E in Basel L 22: Berger/Lullies 1979, 60–63.

[31] Oxford 1885.665 (208): Beazley Addenda 66 (256.15); Brooklyn 68.155.2: Beazley, Para 114 (258.9); Marseilles 7197: Beazley Addenda 67 (259.20); Toronto 919.5.141: Beazley Addenda 67 (259.21); Lyon E 406a: Beazley ABV 268.29; but the thiasoi of Dionysos with satyrs only remain more frequent: Beazley Addenda 66 (255.12 and 255.13); Beazley Para 114 (257.2); Beazley Addenda 67 (258.3.4 and 14; 259.25); Beazley ABV 261.43 (column krater Rome, Villa Giulia 25003); Beazley ABV 265.1 below (Rhodes, from Ialysos).

[32] Beazley, ABV 266ff. The numerical ratios do not change even if account is taken of the amphorae in the chapter with the title "Other Pot Painters" from the second half of the century: Beazley, ABV 296ff.

Fig. 48

[33] Los Angeles 50.14.2: Beazley Addenda 35 (133.7); Chiusi 1806: Beazley Addenda 36 (135.32); Louvre F 32: Beazley Addenda 36 (135.43) and LIMC III.2, Dionysos 715; Cambridge GR 10.1932: Beazley Addenda 38 (141 below,1). See the list of Hedreen 1992, 55 n. 48.

examples from Group E, the woman is always veiled. The satyrs, two or three in number, are dancing and in some cases are without a tail[34], perhaps to allude to the metamorphosis. We have seen other examples of satyrs without tails in images of the mule-rider[35], a motif with which the matronly figure is associated from the beginning of the 6th century[36]. This association has made us think that the ritual of riding the mule had a nuptial meaning. A nuptial meaning is certainly present also in the formula with Dionysos in front of a woman which we are discussing: confirmation of the hypothesis that the metamorphosis of the Dionysian dancer into a satyr must in some way be connected with the wedding. *Fig. 48*

As was stated above, the amphora is one of the vases which, unlike the cup and the krater, do not only and automatically evoke the setting of the symposium. This does not mean that it is not connoted in a principally masculine sense, as shown by the choice of subjects in the period that interests us: examples of heroic aretè, scenes of athletics and military life. However, we need to explain why, in black figured pottery, the decorative repertoire of the hydriae—vases traditionally linked to the female world—is similar to the repertoire of contemporary amphorae. We have just proved that the subject of the matronly-bride who meets Dionysos was adopted in around 510 BCE from the workshop of the Antimenes Painter, which specialised in hydriae.

A possible explanation can be found in the amphorae of the earliest decades of the century. They are decorated with the equine protome—ancestor of successive subjects with horse-riders—or, alternatively, with the female bust. For a citizen, owning a horse was not only a economic factor but a right derived from social status and age. The same applied to women: to have a wife was equivalent to reaching the status of head of an oikos. We have seen with regard to the matronly-bride on the medallions of kylikes by the Heidelberg Painter that this phase coincided with being admitted as

[34] Los Angeles 50.14.2 (A 5832.50–137): Beazley Addenda 35 (133.7); Louvre F 32: Addenda 36 (135.43) and LIMC III, Dionysos 715.

[35] For example, on the dinos Louvre E 876 (discussed on p. 93) and on the Tyrrhenian amphora Louvre E 860 (to be discussed on p. 150f.). On these Isler-Kerényi 2004, 47–62.

[36] Corinthian amphoriskos Athens 664 (see p. 24f.); Attic dinos Louvre E 876 (see p. 93f.). Other examples in Isler-Kerényi 2004, 47–62.

an equal to the symposium. However, the repertoire of the amphorae is different from that on cups. It is orientated more towards marriage as an institution than towards the symposium. In this perspective, the Dionysian matronly-bride is to the female bust as the young horse-riders are to the equine protome: they qualify the male, but less as a symposiast and more as a citizen. For this reason they have greater social dignity and their image could therefore be directed also to the female and nuptial circle to which the hydria also belongs[37].

Fig. 49–50

In one case, *Dionysos and the matronly-bride are distributed over the two sides of the amphora*[38]. One of the two satyrs, who are moving like the dancers from the same Group E[39], is ithyphallic: certainly not to indicate erotic intentions towards Dionysos or the woman, but to allude to the metamorphosis, due to the god, from dancer into satyr. In another variant the satyrs frame a female couple joined by a shared cloak[40]. This motif alludes to a homosexual phase in the life-history of women[41], which we will discuss at length when dealing with a famous amphora by the Amasis Painter: proof of the hypothesis that the repertoire of the amphorae takes more account of the female component of the social organism. The presence of satyrs in this variant, followers metamorphosed by Dionysos, confirms the hypothesis stated at the beginning of the chapter that the god was considered responsible for female and male metamorphoses.

A richer version of the matronly-bride in the thiasos is attributed to the first half of the century[42]. The central couple is surrounded to the right by a dancing satyr, to the left by another satyr who is turning with obvious erotic intentions towards a dancing nymph, which she reciprocates. She is wearing a nebris on top of a chiton: she is therefore identical to the nymphs of the krater of Lydos[43] and

---

[37] This is well illustrated by the hydria in Malibu 86.AE.113 (CVA 1 pl. 53.2; LIMC I, Amphitrite 43; Shapiro 1990, 130) with Dionysos who, holding an enormous kantharos decorated with an ephebe horse-rider, accompanies Amphitrite towards Poseidon.

[38] Munich 1394: Beazley ABV 135.42; KdS 357, 62.2a–b; Hedreen 48 and 63 (list of examples with a veiled woman among satyrs).

[39] For example, cf. New York 56.171.18: Beazley Addenda 37 (137.61); CV 4 pl. 14–5.

[40] London 1843.11–3.40 (B 163): Beazley Addenda 36 (134.28).

[41] Koch-Harnack 1989, 121–135; Cantarella 1992, 107–117; Calame 1996, 87 with n. 8.

Fig. 56–57

[42] Würzburg 246: Beazley Addenda 77 (296.8). Cf. the similar amphora Louvre F 5: Beazley, ABV 300.13.

[43] New York 31.11.11, see p. 97f.

completely different from the woman in the centre. Instead of the ivy branch, Dionysos is holding a vine branch with hanging bunches of grapes: but the ivy is in the field between the matron and the satyr on the right. A third element, which probably alludes to a ritual situation[44], draws attention: a hanging wreath positioned in the centre between the drinking horn and the woman's face.

The woman, who is meeting Dionysos among the dancing satyrs and is present in the repertoire of the Swing Painter and the Affecter, which we will discuss, returns, as we have said, on many amphorae from the final decades of the century[45]. However, it becomes increasingly difficult to determine her status. She is no longer shown as veiled; she may be wearing a cloak over the chiton[46] but she may also take on completely youthful forms, to the extent of being similar to the nymph companions of the satyrs[47]. The drinking horn can be replaced by a kantharos[48], to the ivy branch can be added a vine branch[49]. The only mythological character that sometimes takes part in the scene besides the satyrs is Hermes[50], as also happens in figurations of thiasoi with Dionysos alone[51]: his presence could be to emphasise the fact that the thiasos and the woman's meeting with the god imply a transition. Some painters from the decades after 530 BCE, such as the Lysippides Painter and the colleagues of his circle, preferred calm and composed versions of the

---

[44] Bérard 1974, 72f.

[45] Hedreen 1992, 55 n. 49: ". . . Dionysos and the veiled Ariadne, with silens and nymphs"; 56f. n. 56: ". . . Dionysos and possibly Ariadne face to face, with silens"; 57 n. 57: ". . . Dionysos and Ariadne face to face, with silens and nymphs dressed differently than Ariadne". Note the overwhelming majority, in these lists, of amphorae over other vases.

[46] Examples: Louvre F 59: Beazley Addenda 67 (259.15); Louvre F 209: Beazley Para 148 (335.6); Munich 1531: Beazley Addenda 92 (336.20).

[47] Würzburg 267: Beazley Addenda 67 (258.10); Oxford 1965.115: Beazley Addenda 70 (269.49); Munich 1525: CV 8 pl.400.1; Vatican 360: Beazley, ABV 422, halfway down the page.

[48] Louvre F 204: Beazley Addenda 65 (254.1); Oxford 1965.115: Beazley Addenda 70 (269.49); Munich 1514: Beazley Addenda 71 (272.90); Munich 1513: Beazley ABV 282.4; London B 198: Beazley Addenda 74 (283.12); etc. *Fig. 55*

[49] Louvre F 204: Beazley Addenda 65 (254.1).

[50] Examples: New York 12.198.4: Beazley Addenda 67 (258.5); Würzburg 267: Beazley Addenda 67 (258.10); Toronto 919.5.141 (304): Beazley Addenda 67 (259.21). On Hermes in the thiasos: Hedreen 1992, 41.

[51] Examples: Oxford 1885.665 (208): Beazley Addenda 66 (256.15); New York 56.171.7: Beazley Addenda 67 (258.11); Munich SL 458: Beazley Addenda 67 (259.18). To the amphorae add the krater Tübingen D 18: Beazley Addenda 68 (262.44).

meeting between the god and the woman[52]. The satyrs are sometimes absent[53].

Towards the end of the century a fundamentally modified variant emerged. Instead of meeting Dionysos face to face, the woman is moving with him, forming, for anyone looking at the image, a single entity[54]: only now the two are a wedding couple and the identification of the woman as Ariadne is completely justified[55]. Of the four examples considered here, only in the first is the woman shown as veiled, i.e. of the matronly type. Satyrs are always present on either side of the couple. In one example[56] they are busy with hetaerae, the one on the left being completely naked: the foot of a kline at the edge of the image shows that the setting is a symposium. Here, the famous passage from Xenophon comes to mind. It describes a pantomime performed during a symposium that ends with Ariadne and Dionysos leaving the stage tightly clasped together[57]. On the other three examples, the couple is accompanied by a caprid: clearly the sacrificial animal. The ritual atmosphere is sometimes emphasised by the satyrs who are going in the same direction, one could say in procession, each playing a kithara[58].

In yet another variant of the pattern of the thiasos, Dionysos is at the centre of the image followed on the left by a dancing satyr. On the right is a young-looking female figure[59]. Her appearance is matched by her gesture which has an unequivocal sexual connota-

---

Fig. 54 [52] Examples: Louvre F 204: Beazley Addenda 65 (254.1); Würzburg 267: Beazley Addenda 67 (258.10); Munich SL 458: Beazley Addenda 67 (259.18); Munich 1525: CV 8 pl. 400, 1.

[53] Hedreen 1992, 56 n. 50: precedents on cups of the Siana type. Examples from the second half of the 6th century: London B 198: Beazley Addenda 74 (283.12); London B 256 (not listed in Beazley, ABV).

[54] Boston 76.40: Beazley Addenda 88 (327.1); Rome, Villa Giulia (M.488): Beazley ABV 373.171; Munich 1527: Beazley Addenda 103 (392.5); Rome, Villa Giulia 912: Beazley ABV 394.3.

[55] Hedreen 1992, 43.

Fig. 58 [56] Boston 76.40: CV 1 pl. 39.2.

[57] Xenophon, Symp. 9: Casadio 1994, 212. For Hedreen 1992, 43f., the foot of the kline alludes to the marriage of Dionysos and Ariadne.

Fig. 59–60 [58] Munich 1527: Beazley Addenda 103 (392.5). The reading of this image as a ritual is confirmed by the other side of the amphora where Athena is in the centre, accompanied by an ox-like animal, preceded and followed by a couple: one woman with Hermes, the other with Dionysos. Munich 1564: Beazley Addenda 103 (394.3, below: without a caprid).

Fig. 53 [59] Louvre F 36bis: Beazley Para 58 (142.8). In fact, she is not called Ariadne but a "maenad".

tion: with her two hands she is holding her belt or is about to undo it[60]. From the world of wives we have obviously shifted to the world of hetaerae.

The mother of twins

It was to be the most unusual of the women to meet Dionysos, the one holding two babies, who would tell us how to understand the figure correctly. We know a whole series of them on amphorae of the third quarter of the century[61]. In the recurrent pattern, the god, with a drinking horn and a vine branch (in only one case replaced by an ivy branch[62]), is positioned in the centre of the picture. The mother of twins who is in front of him is not the matronly type but rather youthful, even when her arms are wrapped in a cloak. With regard to the so-called Ariadne in the series just examined, there is one fundamental difference: normally the woman is not simply facing the god but, while turning her head towards him, she is moving away with the lower part of her body[63]. The secondary characters could be Dionysian dancers[64], Hermes[65], dancing satyrs[66] or even a naked ephebe holding an ivy branch[67].

---

[60] On the belt as an indicator of female status: Schmitt 1977.

[61] Here is the list of vases in question in chronological sequence:

1. Belly amphora, Philadelphia MS 3497: Shapiro 1989 pl. 53d;
2. Belly amphora, London 1836.2–24.42 (B 168): Beazley Addenda 38 (142.3); Shapiro 1989 pl. 43a; LIMC III.2, Ariadne 156;
3. Neck amphora, Vatican 359: Beazley ABV 142; Shapiro 1989 pl. 54c; *Fig. 60b*
4. Belly amphora, Tarquinia RC 4796 (or RC 2449 as in CV 2 pl. 24,1.4 ?): *Fig. 60a* Beazley Addenda 39 (143.2);
5. Hydria in the art market: Christie's Geneva 5.5.1979 pl. 20 no. 61;
6. Neck amphora, Mississippi 1977.3.61: Shapiro 1989 pl. 54a;
7. Neck amphora, Louvre F 226: Beazley Addenda 82 (308.66); Shapiro 1989 pl. *Fig. 60c* 54d.

This group of images also includes the mastos Würzburg L 391, Beazley Addenda 68 (262.45), to which the old restoration had given only one baby, which we will consider again in respect of the mastoi in Chapter 5. The amphora Louvre F 226 is missing from the list of Hedreen 1992, 53 n. 37 because there are no explicit Dionysian elements in the image.

[62] London B 213: Beazley ABV 143.1.

[63] The exceptions are Philadelphia MS 3497, the first of the series, and Mississippi 1977.3.61, where it is Dionysos, positioned in the centre of the image, who is moving ambiguously between the mother of twins on the right and Hermes on the left.

[64] Philadelphia MS 3497.

[65] London B 168, Vatican 359, Mississippi 1977.3.61, and perhaps on the hydria.

[66] London B 213, Tarquinia RC 4796.

[67] London B 168: Hedreen 1992, 54 n. 40 thinks that this ephebe is a son of

For his iconography, this series of Dionysian mothers of twins from the first half of the century is a direct continuation of some fragmentary figurations of Aphrodite that are found not on amphorae but on votive pottery. The oldest is on a skyphos from the decade 580–570 BCE[68] from the Acropolis in Athens. The woman holding babies in her arms is called Aphrodite. She is following Dionysos directly in a divine procession. A fragment of a pinax, also from the Acropolis[69], with an extremely accurate image, names the babies Himeros and Eros, the sons of Aphrodite. On a third fragment, perhaps of a kantharos, found in Naukratis[70], the goddess is explicitly called Aphrodite: of her sons only a pair of feet remain. The evident filiation of the motif does not force us to identify the Dionysian mother of twins on amphorae of the third quarter of the century with the goddess of love herself[71]: it remains more likely to understand her as one of the non-mythological but prototypical figures that appear so often in the Dionysian repertoire, even if her iconographic descent, as we shall see, will be shown to be illuminating.

At this point we must ask what was special about the mother of twins in the perspective of the 6th century. Here, too, the sources are meagre and indirect: what we know has been obtained from later medical texts and from the examination of mythological cases. Births of twins were essentially different, both from multiple births, considered unnatural and monstrous, and from single births. The arrival of more than one child was considered in itself a happy event, especially when they were boys. In the system of Solon, boys were particularly welcome because they guaranteed the continuation of the oikos and therefore of the polis. In fact, in mythology twins are almost all positive figures, close to the human world[72]. Even so, giving birth to twins cast a heavy shadow over the mother. It was thought—as is the case in modern ethnological cultures—that the

---

Ariadne who is older than the twins. This presupposes that Ariadne was already a mother when she arrived at Naxos, where she spent the night first with Theseus and then with Dionysos and where she conceived the twins.

[68] Athens, Acropolis 603a: Shapiro 1989 pl. 53a; JHS 13, 1892–3 pl. 11 (reconstruction in colour).

[69] Athens, Acropolis 2526: Shapiro 1989 pl. 53b.

[70] London B 601.17: Beazley ABV 78.3; Shapiro 1989 pl. 53c.

[71] Hedreen 1992, 34f. identifies her as Ariadne, whereas Carpenter 1986, 24 considers her to be Aphrodite.

[72] Eitrem 1902, 119.

birth of twins was the result of an anomalous, divine or double conception, due not only to the actual father but also to an intruder[73]. One need only think of the conception of the twins Herakles and Iphikles, of the Dioskouroi and many others. If the fathers were of different rank—one heroic, the other divine—the destiny—mortal or immortal—of the twins could also differ.

We know nothing about how twins were received in a normal Athenian family in the 6th century. But for the mother, no matter how honoured and faithful a wife, an extremely precarious situation could have been created. Assuming that she survived the double delivery, she must have been suspected of having had an extra-marital relationship. For a lawful wife the consequences could only be negative: death, dismissal, demotion[74]. In comparison, the situation was far less critical for women whose social role already implied the risk of multiple conceptions: love-companions. The birth of children would not have been foreseen for such women and they tried to avoid it. But once born, if they were boys and healthy, it was certainly in the interests of the families and the polis to incorporate them. We know that even the only children of illegitimate female companions, the nothoi, could become legitimate when there were no legitimate sons from normal marriages[75].

So even if anonymous, the mothers of twins in our series of images have definable characteristics. We can thus understand why they are represented as young, unlikely to be confused with the matronly-bride. When an ordinary wife became the mother of twins she showed that she was indeed different from her original image: she revealed that she belonged to the sphere of Aphrodite, as the female love-companion had already from the start. This explains the iconographic derivation of Dionysian mothers of twins from Aphrodite, mother of Eros and Himeros[76].

We still have to explain the role of Dionysos in this situation and the reason for the ambivalent relationship between the god and this

---

[73] Dasen 2005, 32–35; 56–58; 281.

[74] Cf. Solon's sanctions against nubile daughters caught with a lover: Seaford 1994, 207 n. 64. It is possible that the woman would have been demoted from the status of lawful wife to the status of pallakè. On this cf. Keuls 1985, 269: ". . . even citizen women who had lost the support of their families occasionally entered into such irregular arrangements".

[75] Ogden 1996, 37; Pepe 1998, 148.

[76] The argument of Hedreen 1992, 34f. does not explain the similarity between Ariadne and Aphrodite.

woman (never true of the customary matronly-bride in the thiasos) clearly expressed by the fact that, even though standing in front of him and looking at him, she is moving away. Even so, the mother of twins forms part of the group of women who meet Dionysos in the thiasos without seeming to be a negative character.

The iconographic material examined in the preceding chapters documents the stabilising and civilising role of Dionysos that goes back to the cosmogonic past. He may have a similar role in respect of the mother of twins. We find proof of this in a figuration that is more recent than those considered so far, and symptomatically
Fig. 60c modified[77]. Here the woman is represented alone, without Dionysos, satyrs or even Hermes. As usual, she moves in an ambivalent manner, but is now positioned between two columns, each supporting a little owl: this arrangement is not used much on ordinary amphorae, is clearly derived from Panathenaic amphorae, and therefore refers back to the institutional and official aspect of the polis[78]. This reading is confirmed by side B of the same amphora, which shows the Gigantomachy of Poseidon, and from a comparison with two other amphorae. The first is an amphora of a shape similar to the Panathenaic by the same Swing Painter to whom the mother of twins in question is also ascribed[79]: on side B the Gigantomachy of Poseidon can be seen; and on side A, the canonical Athena Promachos of the Panathenaic amphorae between two columns supporting panthers in the attacking position. The Panathenaic columns, which have cockerels in the place of little owls[80], frame Dionysos with a nymph, on an amphora that can be dated to about 510 BCE[81]. On side B Herakles and Athena are depicted, armed and facing each other[82]: a clear allusion to the hero's apotheosis.

The grouping together of the Dionysian mother of twins or of Dionysos himself with Panathenaic columns shows that integration

---

[77] Louvre F 226: Beazley Addenda 82 (308.66).

[78] Here are two rare examples: London B 139: CV III He pl. 5, 3 (A: Athena armed; B: young kithara-player); London B 146: CV III He pl. 6, (A: Athena Promachos; B: young horse-rider between naked and armed ephebes).

[79] Copenhagen 3672: Beazley Addenda 82 (307.58).

[80] On the Panathenaic columns with cockerels: Bentz 1998, 51ff.

[81] London B 198: Beazley Addenda 74 (283.12). Similar is the reading by Angiolillo 1997, 143; LIMC III.2, Dionysos 711.

[82] The little deer accompanying Athena could allude to Artemis, worshipped alongside Athena on the Acropolis in Athens.

of these "different" women into the polis was possible and that it was attributed to Dionysos. But the god's role is not the same in respect of the normal nymph and the nymph who has become the mother of twins. In the first case there is no ambiguity, the situation is unequivocal, a friendly face to face. In the second case, the meeting takes place, but the woman is about to depart. Perhaps the satyrs are there to indicate the setting to which she is heading since she has been demoted: the symposium. Instead, Hermes is the guide in all the existential transitions: death, but also change in status. In the sight of Dionysos, however, there is no confusion between the good wife and the wife of dubious honour: however conciliatory, he clearly stands on the side of law and order. It is the same role that we have seen him adopt on a cosmic scale at the marriage of Thetis, at the return of Hephaistos to Olympus and at the Gigantomachy.

Confirmation that the birth of twins was experienced positively is found on the B sides of these amphorae, on which the subjects, apart from one case of doubtful reading[83], are of two types: they can evoke either ritual Dionysian situations[84] or heroic aretè[85]. And it is not accidental that all the latter have Herakles as protagonist, the most famous twin from the generation of heroes and a prototype of the lucky twin. The anonymous mother of our twins, even if demoted and now "different", continues to belong to the world that the amphora traditionally evokes: the world of masculine virtue and the polis.

Ariadne?

The name of Ariadne has been proposed for all the types of woman in front of Dionysos, the matronly-bride, the nymph, the god's female companion in the ritual procession, the mother of twins: but the name is not at all obvious if one considers the variety of iconographic formulae. Is it likely that so many different women could all have the name of Ariadne? What are Ariadne's role and status in mythology?

---

[83] Young woman touching the thigh of the seated bearded man, among cloaked ephebes, for Beazley possibly Thetis in front of Zeus: Vatican 359.

[84] Satyr riding a caprid: London B 168; mule-rider among satyrs: Tarquinia RC 2449 (or RC 4796).

[85] The Labours of Herakles: Philadelphia MS 3497, London B 213, Mississippi 1977.3.61.

We start from the observation that in mythology there is no other woman who could dispute Ariadne's rank as the wife of Dionysos. As such she is one of the divine prototypes of legitimate wives. But the circumstances of that union are not at all clear and have given rise to a number of different versions[86]. It is only clear that both Theseus and Dionysos had been with Ariadne on Naxos on the same night. It is no surprise, then, that there is a version in which Ariadne becomes the mother of twins, i.e. of Staphylos and Oinopion[87]. Her similarity with Aphrodite, often confirmed by the texts is no surprise either. On the other hand, the role attributed to Artemis in Ariadne's premature death stresses her youthful image of a nymphe rather than of a gyne.

Ariadne's union with Dionysos was considered fundamental in Athens: otherwise one cannot explain why it was confirmed annually by an important ritual[88], the ritual of marriage of the basilinna and Dionysos. In the ritual, Dionysos was seen as the groom and prototype of all grooms[89]. But the same ritual also emphasised the ambiguous role of the heroine in relation to both the god and the founding hero of Athens: it is difficult to deny that the ritual union of the basilinna with Dionysos could be perceived, at least superficially, as adultery[90]. On the other hand, a ritual of this kind must have had a specific meaning, "aiming to portray Dionysos as the putative father to heirs to the throne about to be born"[91]. Once again, one may ask what actually happened. If nine months after the ritual, the basilinna gave birth to a baby, whose son was it considered to be: the archon basileus or Dionysos? Were there babies in Athens considered to be children of Dionysos? As there is no trace of such babies in the sources, this could be an argument for accepting that

---

[86] Calame 1990, 106–116. The same passages are also discussed by Casadio 1994, 129–148 and by Hedreen 1992, 31–34.

[87] Calame 1990, 113f.; on this version also rests the identification of the Dionysian mother of twins with Ariadne by Simon 1963, 13. Curiously, instead, for Daraki 1985, 98 "Ariane n'est jamais devenue mère". (Ariadne never became a mother).

[88] Scholarly tradition (also followed by Simon 1963, Hedreen 1992, 79–83 and Seaford 1994, 263ff.) sets the ritual in the programme of the Anthesteria even though the sources are not unambiguous: Hamilton 1992, 53ff. However, this does not affect the interpretation of Ariadne set out here.

[89] On this role of Dionysos see also Daraki 1985, 73ff.

[90] So also Calame 1996, 148.

[91] De Sanctis, quoted by Privitera 1970, 24.

the phase of chastity required of the basilinna before the ritual was followed was a purely symbolic union with the god[92].

Whether or not the union took place only symbolically, the fact remains that the ritual of the hieros gamos stressed the privileged relationship of the polis of Athens with Dionysos[93]: this confirms the reading, proposed in the previous chapter, of the link between Dionysos and Hephaistos, the patron of Athens, on the dinos of Sophilos and on the François krater. This privileged relationship must have been extended to Ariadne, in spite of the dark sides of her image: even though she is the wife of Dionysos, Ariadne is never a model either of fidelity or conjugal bliss. In light of the mythology and information on the hieros gamos, the name Ariadne is not incompatible with the matronly-bride, the nymph, or the mother of twins. Even if we accept that the various images of the thiasos discussed allude to a situation that is not mythological but prototypical—and that it is therefore inappropriate to impose only a specific name on the figures—the definite fact remains that practically all the women of Athens could be identified with Ariadne: the lawful wives, the nymphs, the women with suspect maternity and even the women who died prematurely in childbirth. This is the reason why the images of the thiasos belong organically to the repertoire of the amphorae, vases which have not only exclusive symposial significance but also nuptial and sepulchral. In this perspective the initial thesis is validated: Dionysos was considered to be the patron of metamorphoses in the lives not only of men but also of women.

As a nuptial deity (and prototype), Dionysos can therefore be represented also on the wedding car[94] or else accompany it[95]. These images use the iconographic formula of the ceremonial quadriga also used to portray heroic apotheoses[96] or mythological arrivals and departures and should therefore be studied separately. In any case,

---

[92] Henrichs 1982, 148. The various hypotheses on the form of the ritual union are discussed by Casadio 1994, 202 with n. 122.

[93] Cf. Simon 1963, 14 (interpretation of Athena on the krater in her pl. 5.2).

[94] LIMC III, Dionysos 765 (hydria Vatican 423) and 766 (amphora Bologna 29).

[95] Examples: Hydriae New York 14.105.10 and Florence 3790 (Shapiro 1989 pl. 23 f. and 24 a–b).

[96] For example, the apotheosis of Ariadne: Würzburg L 267 (LIMC III, Dionysos 768 and 774). On the hydria in Berlin 1904 (LIMC VII, Semele 22) Dionysos has arrived on a quadriga to take up Semele. On this formula: Kerényi 1994, 108f. with fig. 47.

figurations of Dionysian nymphs who drive a ceremonial car in the presence of Dionysos belong to this context[97].

We have noted that the satyrs over time could be left out of the images of Dionysos meeting a woman: in fact, in the reading proposed, they are not necessary. What, then, is the meaning of their presence in the greater part of the series? The iconographic material considered so far clearly shows that Dionysos' belonging to the world of men, to male sexuality on the correct management of which the stability of the polis depended was held to be important. To Dionysos are due, both the possibility of escape, which can neutralise aggression that destabilises, and its limits. In this perspective, the figure of the dancing satyr, half human and half animal, straddling culture and nature, personifies both escape and the neutralisation of aggression through music and dance. The relationship between the male and female worlds, one of the hinges of the polis system, is understood as the focus in this sphere of escape and neutralised aggression: it is consistent, therefore, that the meeting between Dionysos and the woman takes place in the presence of satyrs.

The thiasos remained the most frequent image of the repertoire of Attic pottery[98]. Like the thiasos, the motif of dancers moved from containers for the symposium—kylikes and kraters—to amphorae[99]: but its numerical importance started to decrease considerably[100]. To the setting described, belong amphorae with Dionysian subjects by Lydos, the Amasis Painter, Exekias and by some of their contemporaries. They have differences but are all typical of the way Dionysos was perceived around 550 BCE and during the third quarter of the 6th century.

---

[97] Examples: amphorae Würzburg L 267 and Munich SL 460 (LIMC III, Dionysos 768 and 769).

[98] Carpenter 1997, 1 n. 1: 18.5% of all the Attic images known. On this ratio cf. Isler-Kerényi 2000. A summary of Dionysian iconography of the first half of the 5th century will be given on p. 223ff. of the present study.

[99] Examples: Louvre E 827: CV III He pl. 9,1.4; Harrogate: Beazley Para 46 (115.2); Rhodes: Clara Rhodos 8, 56 fig. 41; New York 56.171.18: Beazley Addenda 37 (137.61); Munich 1387: Beazley Addenda 79 (304.7), KdS 293, 48.1; Amsterdam 1877: Böhr 1982, pl. 69; Munich 1398: Beazley ABV 303.4.

[100] Exceptions are the Tyrrhenian amphorae, generally faithful to antiquated decorations.

Dionysian amphorae by Lydos

Before examining these amphorae, it must be stated that in terms of number, Dionysian themes are not as important in the work of Lydos as in the Amasis Painters. Perhaps this depends on his position in the course of black figure pottery. Even though it is set in the central decades of the century—according to Tiverios his career began shortly after the François krater, i.e. before 560 BCE, and ended towards 535—he seems to have been more attached than his contemporaries to the tradition of the first three decades of the century, both in respect of the choice of shapes and types of decoration[101]. In Attic pottery of the period, the Dionysian repertoire, as also narrative repertoire in general, was still restricted. Besides the grotesque dancers and a few wild satyrs, we recall the Dionysos by Sophilos and Kleitias. But, as we have already noted in respect of the dinos with the Gigantomachy and of the thiasos on the grandiose krater of New York, this set of themes was not irrelevant for Lydos[102].

Following the stylistic and chronological classification proposed by Tiverios, the first piece to be considered is the *fragmentary amphora* with a Dionysian thiasos on side A and a couple of cloaked youths between sphinxes on side B[103], from the first phase of activity between about 560 and 555 BCE. The main figuration shows Dionysos in the centre moving towards the right but with his head turned towards the left: a formula that emphasises his central position. In his left hand he is holding a large bunch of grapes in full view, which forms the middle of the picture, while with his right hand he is making a gesture of greeting. On the bunch is fixed the glance of two satyrs who, while dancing, are holding their erect phalluses with one hand. It seems that the satyr on the left is trying to attract his companion's attention to it. The satyrs are followed, on each side, by a dancing nymph. The couple of cloaked ephebes foreshadow the recurring decoration on the B sides especially of red figured kraters[104]: possibly an allusion to a specific phase in the life-cycle of a male

Fig. 61

[101] Tiverios 1976, 84ss.; Moore 1979, 79; Hannestad 1989, 44 (date of the last works of Lydos probably 535–530 BCE); Kreuzer 1998, 270 (date of the early work of Lydos and his workshop).

[102] New York 31.11.11: see p. 97f.

[103] Louvre C 10634: Beazley Addenda 30 (110.31); LIMC III, Dionysos 300.

[104] Isler-Kerényi 1996, 51f.

which will be followed by the phase impersonated by satyrs and characterised by the apparition of Dionysos with the bunch of grapes.

Fig. 62 No less interesting is *an amphora*[105] from the end of the first phase, about 555, still decorated with animal friezes in the lower register. In the shoulder area, instead, we find two figured scenes: on one side a symposium, on the other the judgment of Paris. The field of the first image is filled by a symposial kline under which is a crouching dog, and a smaller dog is at its feet. On the kline is a male couple of different ages in conversation[106]. From the right and from the left couples of male and female dancers are approaching as on some more or less contemporary kylikes of the Siana type. One of the dancers is holding a drinking horn in his hand and another horn is hanging on the wall above the kline: this confers on the scene, which in any case does not lack solemnity, an aura of ritual. The combination of this scene with the judgment of Paris on the other side is not accidental. We have already noted in respect of the kylikes of the Heidelberg Painter that in a conception of life as sequenced by age phases with different social roles, the symposium can be seen as preliminary to marriage: and the judgment of Paris is clearly a mythological subject pertaining to marriage.

From the work of Lydos it is clear that the dancer belongs to the homoerotic sphere even independently of the symposium. Proof of this comes from two other slightly more recent belly amphorae. The *first*[107] shows similar images on two sides of the vase. A bearded male is courting a naked youth—long-haired on side A, short-haired on side B—with explicit gestures, between two bearded dancers facing outward. The protagonists and one of the dancers are wearing or holding wreaths which confer ritual solemnity on the images. The central scene recurs, much the same—but the courting man is ithyphallic[108]—on *another amphora*[109]: here the homosexual couple is not

---

[105] Florence 70995: Beazley Addenda 30 (110.32); LIMC III, Dionysos 756.

[106] An even richer contemporary figuration of the symposium (but without the dancers) is on an amphora from the circle of Nearchos: Omaha, Joslyn Art Museum 1963.480; Beazley, Para 34.2, above and Addenda 24 ("Omaha Painter").

[107] Nicosia C 440: Beazley Addenda 30 (109.28).

[108] A more advanced stage of the sexual approach occurs in a medallion of a cup from the final phase of Lydos' work, with the formula of the four figures of whom the outer ones, however, are dancers who are ephebes rather than mature men: Copenhagen 13966: Beazley Addenda 33 (119).

[109] Paris, Cab. Méd. 206: Beazley Addenda 30 (109.27); cf. the unattributed amphora by a minor contemporary painter with a dancing couple of differing ages, most probably homoerotic: Clara Rhodos 8, 1936, 56 fig. 41.

surrounded by Dionysian dancers, in musical ecstasy, but rather by naked and clothed males of various ages. The impression given is that the homoerotic approach takes place in a setting that is not completely private but, at least metaphorically, under the eyes of representatives of the collective (just like, on the other hand, the combat of Herakles with the lion on the other side of the same amphora)[110].

More recent is *an amphora functioning as a cooler* belonging to the middle phase of the work of Lydos, that is to the years before 540 BCE[111]. The Dionysian scene is on the main side, on the opposite side is depicted the fight between Theseus and the Minotaur in the presence of ephebes of varying ages: naked and long-haired, clothed and short-haired. The image with the thiasos on the front part of the vase is restricted by the spout fixed to the shoulder of the vase. As a result, Dionysos, who is carrying a large drinking horn, is not positioned in the centre but to the right of the spout, preceded by a dancing satyr. Next under the spout is a very young satyr, the only figure turning towards the left, who is playing with a little hare which perhaps belongs to the nymph, if we think of the proto-Corinthian aryballos considered above[112]. The nymph is wearing a long chiton and an animal skin: she is moving towards the right between a fat dancing satyr who is turning his face to her and a second satyr who closes the procession. Here, Lydos is not adapting the symmetrical and essentially static formula of the first amphora we considered, but a simplified version of the New York krater[113]. The whole surface of the satyr's body is covered with dots to indicate that he is covered in hair, i.e., old: the Amasis Painter will provide further clarification in this respect. *Fig. 63*

There are elegant images of a thiasos with satyrs and nymphs without Dionysos on both sides of *an amphora from the last period of Lydos* of disputed attribution[114]. The procession comprises of three ithyphallic satyrs alternating with two nymphs in a well balanced composition, although, unlike the thiasos with Dionysos on the Paris *Fig. 64*

[110] Fehr 1996, 788 ff.

[111] London 1848.6–19.5 (B 148): Beazley Addenda 30 (109.29); LIMC III.2, Dionysos 299.

[112] Brindisi 1669: discussed on p. 11f.

[113] New York 31.11.11: discussed on p. 97f.

[114] Basel BS 424: Tiverios 1973, 114f. n. 322 (dated after the jug Berlin 1732); CV 1, 85f. pl. 28. The inscriptions are meaningless and purely decorative.

amphora, it is not symmetrical and leaves no doubt about the left to right direction of the movement. Note that on the side we call A, the central satyr is turning his face toward the outside, interacting with whoever is looking at the vase, as does the non-ithyphallic satyr following the mule-rider on the New York krater. The thiasos of Lydos is not a remote event but something that is happening in the present.

On his Dionysian amphorae, Lydos uses images from the, by now, customary repertoire without significant personal additions or changes. One never has the impression, however, that this set of themes has become obvious and that the painter's care fails in executing it.

The Dionysian kylikes by Lydos[115] show clearly the substantial identity of the grotesque dancers with the satyrs of the Dionysian thiasos in the iconographic tradition that goes back to the first quarter of the century and beyond. In spite of their basic identity, dancers and satyrs move on different levels, the former ritual, the latter mythical. This is confirmed on the amphorae by Lydos with Dionysian images: Dionysos is explicitly present only in the figurations of the thiasos and not of the symposium, of the Dionysian dance and homoerotic love, where the drinking horns and the wreaths are the only indicators of a situation that does not occur everyday. Here, Lydos, as we will see, made different choices from the Amasis Painter. His vases are important because they document the transfer of the Dionysian repertoire from typical vases of the symposium (cups and kraters) to amphorae shortly before 550 BCE.

Fig. 65–66 To the amphorae we add a special vase, an *oinochoe of special shape* that initiated the final phase of Lydos' activity around 540 BCE, known because it bears the signature of the potter Kolchos[116]. For us it is of interest because Dionysos is depicted on it in a mythological and unique context. This uniqueness matches the exceptional shape of the vase, due perhaps to a private commission. It is a fight over the body of Kyknos. Ares, his father, is fighting with Herakles, who is assisted by Athena[117]. Zeus (no longer visible) is standing between the two, trying to separate his rival sons. Poseidon is rushing in from the left, the side of Herakles, Apollo from the right.

[115] Taranto I.G. 4412 and Heraklion 217, discussed on p. 48.
[116] Berlin 1732; Beazley Addenda 30 (110.37); Boardman 1990, fig. 68.
[117] Tiverios 1976, 66.

Important elements of the composition are the two quadrigae driven by Iolaos and Phobos respectively, which are moving away from the centre of the action. At the edges of the scene, on the sides of the handle, two onlookers are standing motionless: on the right, according to the inscription, Halios Geron, on the left, Dionysos holding a flower. Halios Geron is one of the sea gods with whom, according to the only other figuration known on a slightly earlier armlet of an Argive shield[118], Herakles had to cross swords.

It is difficult for us to understand the meaning of the presence of the god of the sea and Dionysos in this image, also because the piece is unique. The outline adopted by Lydos for the main action is connected with previous images of the Aegean tradition of the heroic duel over someone fallen in battle which must have evoked the sphere of death[119]. Exekias seems to be doing something similar, when, shortly after Lydos, he chose this formula to decorate a chalice krater[120] that had just been invented, a formula that would remain canonical for this type of vase[121]. In the version on the oinochoe it is striking that the fight is not set on a heroic level but between the heroic and divine levels, as emphasised by the inscriptions indicating, unequivocally, the identities of the characters. This combat between gods and the decisive intervention of Herakles is reminiscent of the Gigantomachy. Different from the Gigantomachy is the role of Zeus as peacemaker (also confirmed by the sources)[122]. A role that he carries out in a specific moment: when the fight against a model of insubordination and brigandage (Kyknos) is about to degenerate into a fight between his own sons (Herakles supported by Athena against Ares). In the Dionysian iconography discussed thus far, the wedding of Thetis and Peleus on dinoi by Sophilos and on the François krater and the Gigantomachy are the only other events of cosmological significance. We intuit the meaning of the presence of Dionysos in the fight between Ares and Herakles interrupted by Zeus in this perspective: where Halios Geron, "the Old

[118] LIMC IV 1, 409f. s.v. Halios Geron 2 (R. Glynn): second quarter of the 6th century.

[119] Isler-Kerényi 1990b, 41 with n. 47.

[120] A shape probably introduced by him into the repertoire of potters of the Kerameikos: Boardman 1974 56f. fig. 103.

[121] Frank 1990, 55f.

[122] Kerényi 1997 II, 128f.

Man of the Sea"[123], is reminiscent of the origins of the cosmos—just like Okeanos at the wedding of Thetis—Dionysos is guarantor of Zeus' present order of the world.

Dionysian amphorae by the Amasis Painter

The Amasis Painter is a prominent representative of the ceramic art of Athens in the first phase of its splendour, when, in the third quarter of the 6th century, it had already attained the undisputed primacy in contemporary Greek pottery and, with artistic primacy, the position of leader in the Etruscan market. Amphorae have a preeminent position in his rich and varied production: and among the decorative formulae on the amphorae the Dionysian motifs stand out. One has the impression that the figure of Dionysos and the characters connected with him had a particular importance in the mental world of the artist and the persons for whom this pottery was intended. The activity of the decorator of most of the vases by the potter Amasis is dated between 550/545 and 515 BCE[124], and is therefore contemporary with the later phase of Lydos and the work of Exekias[125]. The Amasis Painter holds an important position in Dionysian iconography, not only for his amphorae but also for his kylikes, all to be dated to the final phase of his activity: this will be discussed in the next chapter.

Dionysian figurations on amphorae of the Amasis Painter are of two types. The first, as we have said, comprises one of the best loved themes of contemporary and later painting: it is the Dionysian dance. But we will see how, moving away from the norm, the painter presents two variants, one with mythical dancers and one with human dancers: it is not, then, the canonical thiasos. The second is more peculiar to him: Dionysos among non-dancing ephebes. But there are other images, isolated but no less important.

---

[123] In the photographs of this piece, kindly made available to me by Ursula Kästner of the Antikenmuseum of Berlin, Halios Geron seems to be young because the colour that was added to his beard has vanished. On close inspection one can see a trace of the colour.

[124] On the question of the chronology and the phases of activity of the Amasis Painter see: Isler 1994. Here we accept the chronology of the individual vases based on this new arrangement.

[125] Boardman 1990, 57.

Dionysian dances

The first amphora with a thiasos, dated to about 550 BCE, is very fragmentary and smaller in size[126]. It shows, on both sides, almost the same scene: Dionysos standing in the centre, surrounded by four ithyphallic satyrs, dancing. We have met similar formulae on the amphorae of Group E from these same years[127]: evidently in this case the Amasis Painter is adapting himself to the customs of his time.

Of standard size, instead, is another *amphora*[128] from about 540 BCE, with the fight between Herakles and Kyknos in the presence of Athena and Ares on side A, and Dionysos between male and female dancers on side B. We have discussed a representation of this labour of Herakles on the oinochoe created by Kolchos and painted by Lydos in the same years. The combination of the two subjects on this amphora is probably not accidental[129]: it could wish to contrast an example of conflict with harmony. The Dionysos of side B, with a kantharos in his hand, is greeting a female dancer dressed in a peplos, and wreathed like him in ivy. She is approaching from the right accompanied by a naked dancer. The couple on the left of the god is depicted in the same way. There is no explicit connection between these dancers and wine: but it is made likely by comparing this image with a *slightly more recent lekythos*[130] without female dancers, on which one of the male dancers, from their proportions even closer to their predecessors from the first half of the century, is approaching and greeting Dionysos. The dancer is carrying a wineskin, while a clothed ephebe is observing the scene. In both cases we are faced with a komos: but, for the first time explicitly, Dionysos is present in the komos.

---

[126] Vatican (Gregoriano Etrusco) 17743: Bothmer 1985, no. 3; Isler 1994, 110.

[127] See p. 112f.

[128] Louvre F 36: Beazley Addenda 42 (150.6); Bothmer 1985 no.5; Isler 1994, 110; LIMC III, Dionysos 811.

[129] It reappears in other cases that are not distant in terms of chronology. Examples: Cambridge GR 12.1937: Beazley Addenda 67 (257.23); Leiden I.1954/2,1: Beazley Addenda 68 (263.9); London B 202: Beazley ABV 284.1; Munich 1709: Beazley Addenda 95 (361.14). But there are also many images of this same labour in combination with other subjects.

[130] Athens, ex Kerameikos 25: Bothmer 1985, 82 fig. 59; Isler 1994, 112; LIMC III, Dionysos 810.

Fig. 67–68 Contemporary with this amphora but with richer workmanship, is *an amphora in Basel*[131]. On one of its sides is a similar scene: Dionysos in the centre is greeting a dancing couple who are approaching from the right. The woman is holding an ivy branch and a jug that she will use to pour wine into the kantharoi of the god and his female companion, who is approaching from the left with a wreath on her arm and a flower held high in her hand. Another link between the various parts of the image is provided by the gesture, perhaps a greeting, of the dancer on the right. All the figures are wearing ivy wreaths, which confers an air of ritual solemnity on the scene. Even though Dionysos is present, the scene takes place on the human level: in fact, the female figures do not have wild connotations nor have the male figures become satyrs.

Instead, the satyrs are portrayed on the other side of the same vase in the first scene of the treading of the grapes[132], which ascribes this activity to satyrs. The position of Dionysos is the same as on the other side of the vase: but here a couple, comprising of a satyr and a tightly clasped dancing girl are going to meet him. The woman is holding her companion by the wrist[133]. The Amasis Painter is not only confirming the identity of the satyr and the human dancer, already evident in Boeotian vase painting and also evoked by the tailless satyrs in contemporary Attic thiasoi: what is new is that, for him, women are closer to Dionysos than men. Or rather, it is the women who introduce the male dancers into that sphere. To this sphere also belongs, as far as can be understood from the few fragments of another *amphora*[134] and from the secondary band on an amphora we will examine below[135], the matronly-bride on kylikes and dinoi from the second quarter of the 6th century discussed above, and also especially on the amphorae of Group E, who seems to have a special relationship with Dionysos. This is also shown by *a neck amphora from the painter's first phase*[136]. Both images on the neck show

---

[131] Basel Kä 420: Beazley Addenda 43 (151); Bothmer 1985, 47 fig. 40; Isler 1994, 110; Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 61ff. figs. 1 and 2; LIMC III, Dionysos 408.

[132] Hedreen 1992, 85–88 and the list of such scenes: 185f. Here too the amphorae are privileged image-bearers: Sparkes 1976, 51.

[133] Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 73 fig. 4.

[134] New York 1985.57: Bothmer 1985 no. 18bis: see fragment g on p. 111; Isler 1994, 111.

[135] Ex Berlin 3210: Beazley Addenda 43 (151.21); Bothmer 1985, 49 fig. 45a.

[136] Private collection: Bothmer 1985, 73 fig. 56 a–b; Isler 1994, 111.

Dionysos with a huge drinking horn in front of the woman, with dancing satyrs framing the scene. The theme of the main figurations is the arming of warriors. The warrior on the main side is wearing an animal skin, perhaps an allusion to the wild world to which he belongs: in fact we know that the first military service of Athenian youths took place on the borders, in a setting attributed to Artemis: later on we will see the link between ephebes and Artemis being strengthened. However, the link between the Dionysian world and the military sphere is not new, besides its connection with hunting: we have already noted this, among other matters, in respect of the kylikes of the Siana type[137] and we will note it again below.

Female presence is not required during the grape-treading, as on a well-known *amphora*[138] showing a grape-treading scene with only satyrs taking part on one side, and Dionysos dancing among the satyrs on the other. This Dionysos is like the one on the kylix by the Heidelberg Painter in Copenhagen[139]. But here too the Amasis Painter goes further. In the god's retinue we again see a tightly embracing couple, here two satyrs of differing ages[140] carrying drinking horns. The role of initiator to the world of Dionysos and wine is attributed to a mature satyr rather than to a woman. While pouring wine from a wine-skin into the god's kantharos, the satyr on the left is turning his face toward anyone looking at the vase[141], like Dionysos in the divine procession on the François krater, and as the satyr who is following the mule-rider often does[142]: an unambiguous way of addressing anyone holding the amphora, mentally including him in the scene.

The most recent amphora of this series[143], dated to around 530 BCE, portraying the arming of a warrior, introduces a new type of Dionysian woman. The formula is the one on the amphorae in Paris and Basel already considered, with Dionysos in the centre of a dance. Next to *Fig. 69*

[137] Chapter 2, p. 40ff.
[138] Würzburg L 265: Beazley Addenda 43 (151.22); Bothmer 1985 no. 19; Isler 1994, 111; LIMC III, Dionysos 415 and VIII, Silenoi 38.
[139] Copenhagen 5179, discussed on p. 47.
[140] Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 73 fig. 5.
[141] Bothmer 1985, 115 fig. 19.
[142] See p. 83f.
[143] Ex Berlin 3210, one of the items lost in the war (information kindly provided by Ursula Kästner): Beazley Addenda 43 (151.21); Bothmer 1985, 49 fig. 45; Isler 1994, 111; Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 73 fig. 3.

him there are again tightly embracing couples consisting of satyrs and dancing girls holding the satyrs' arms: but the women are completely naked, a new element in Attic pottery painting considered thus far[144]. Besides these women by the Amasis Painter, the partners of frequently ithyphallic Dionysian dancers are naked on slightly earlier Tyrrhenian amphorae[145], in which containers, such as the krater and the kantharos appear to indicate the symposium setting of the erotic acrobatics depicted: clearly these naked women are hetaerae, who have the same role of initiators into the world of Dionysos as the clothed female companions of satyrs and dancers.

To the right and left of the dancing couples are two approaching women: they are dressed not in the long peplos but in a much shorter garment. The woman on the right, who is less damaged, is holding a dead leveret[146], the meaning of which is not unambiguous: in fact, hares, dead and alive, are either typical gifts in erotic homosexual and heterosexual relationships, or hunting trophies that stress the wild nature of anyone holding them. In this image, the impression is that the Amasis Painter wished to emphasise the difference between the two types of women: the hetaerae, erotic companions of the satyrs, and the nymphs belonging to the world of nature, not connected with male figures.

These women, who are approaching Dionysos, but from a distance, are probably identical to the ones on the contemporary *neck amphora by the same painter*[147]. It has been noted several times that we have here, for the first time, women meeting Dionysos on their own, with neither satyrs nor dancers. Besides the specially solemn atmosphere of this meeting, attention is drawn to the two women (the one in the foreground is dressed in a panther pelt over a long garment), portrayed embracing like the female dancer and the satyr on the amphora in Basel and the couple of satyrs, clearly homosexual, on the Würzburg amphora. The obviously erotic significance of this ges-

Fig. 70–71

[144] But not in Corinthian painting, if we remember the kraters from Flious (p. 100) and in Kaunas Tt 1094, discussed on p. 100. Another example of a naked female companion of a satyr by the Amasis Painter is on a fragment of an amphora in Samos K 898: LIMC VII Suppl., Mainades 60.

[145] Munich 1432: KdS 228, 37.1; Munich 6451: KdS 229, 37.2; Munich 1430: KdS 291, 47.4b. On the problem of dating see n. 208 below.

[146] Henrichs 1987, 101f. fig. 2 (with n. 53 and 50).

[147] Paris, Cab. Méd. 222: Beazley Addenda 43 (152.25); Bothmer 1985 no. 23; Isler 1994, 111; Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 74 fig. 6; LIMC III, Dionysos 294.

ture has not been accepted until now[148]. Neither has account been taken of reference to the stage in a woman's life evoked by this gesture: a formative stage, in every sense, intellectual, practical, sexual. It was a period in which the girls—we do not know whether all or only a few—lived exclusively among women at the edge of the territory of the polis, outside family and city, under the guidance of mistresses[149]. The gesture of holding each other's shoulders with arms folded indicates something more than an erotic relationship: it indicates a solidarity that goes beyond a transitory bond[150]. In this phase the meeting with Dionysos must have the same significance that it has in a masculine context: for women as for men, the transition from one phase of life to another always implies a metamorphosis, inner as well as of image[151]. And Dionysos, according to the interpretation proposed here, is the patron, in the name of the polis, of these transitions.

On this vase, the polis is also insinuated on the other side where Athena is seen in a solemn and friendly tête à tête with Poseidon (not only his rival for Attica, but above all, the father of Theseus). Contrasting with these two images of harmony are the hoplite duels depicted on the upper band of the vase, perhaps an allusion to the other side of the system on which the polis is founded, the military side. The strong link between Dionysos and the polis is confirmed by *a neck amphora signed by the potter, Amasis*, from the final phase of the activity of this painter[152]. On one of the sides Athena Promachos is depicted, standing in front of a mature god, probably Poseidon. On the other side we see two armed warriors approaching a battlefield. Between the two sides, under each of the handles, is Dionysos in motion towards the left, but with his face turned in the opposite direction, with a vine branch in his right hand and an ivy branch

Fig. 72

---

[148] Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 63f.

[149] Brulé 1987, 260; Koch-Harnack 1989, 121–135; Gentili 1995, 101ff.; Seaford 1994, 308; Osborne 1996, 228.

[150] This gesture is still found in a naked Sapphic couple in red figure vase paintings of the first half of the 5th century: Oakley/Coulson/Palagia 1997, 216 fig. 4.

[151] Cf. Seaford 1994, 259: "... Athenian girls went out to become 'bears' in the uncultivated periphery of Attica, at Brauron, for a ritual in which they were imagined as entering a temporary state of savagery so as to return tamed for the civilized state of marriage"; Calame 1996, 109ff. and 123.

[152] Boston 01.8026: Beazley Addenda 44 (152.26); Bothmer 1985 no. 24; Isler 1994, 111.

in his left: both this ambivalent formula and the position of the figure on the vase emphasise the god's affinity with passages, transitions. In this perspective, as we will see shortly, the meaning of the vegetal attributes is explained, ivy and vine, seen frequently in figurations of the thiasos.

The amphorae by the Amasis Painter discussed so far are particularly important for two reasons. Unlike the other painters of Dionysian images of the second half of the 6th century and beyond, he gives the women the role of ritual mediators between males and the god of wine. In addition he is concerned with differentiating accurately the various female types present in the Dionysian world: the female companion of the dancers, who, as on the kylikes of Lydos, is identical with the companion of the satyrs even though she does not have her wild features; the naked companion of the satyr, prototype of the hetaera, for whom the question arises whether or not she is identical with the clothed female companion; the matronly-bride in the thiasos; and lastly, the woman either alone or accompanied by another woman, linked more with the wild outside the polis than with the world of wine and the symposium. The interest of our painter in the specific nature of the characters around Dionysos also extends to the masculine world, as we will see in the next series of images peculiar to his repertoire.

Dionysos among ephebes

Fig. 73

The oldest example, dated about 550 BCE, is on an *amphora from Vulci*[153]. Dionysos with his kantharos is preceded by a small ithyphallic satyr, the only one in this series: for us his importance lies in the fact that he establishes a connection between this series, seemingly more remote from the world of the symposium, and the series just discussed. The god is greeting an ephebe who is approaching him from the right followed by other male characters. To the left of the god is a naked ephebe holding an aryballos: we have already noted, in respect of the Corinthian aryballoi with figurations of Dionysian dancers[154], what the link between this type of unguent vase and the world of wine could be: the consumption of wine is

[153] Vatican, Guglielmi coll. 39518: Beazley Addenda 42 (150.1); Bothmer 1985, 75 fig. 57 a,b; Isler 1994, 110; LIMC III.2, Dionysos 806.

[154] See p. 19f.

synonymous with being at a symposium, of being acknowledged as an adult: and the age of the adult is preceded by the phase characterised by athletics, the sign of which is the unguent vase. The other side of the amphora presents a scene with various anonymous male characters: a hunter with a dog between two warriors and young, clothed spectators.

Slightly more recent is *another amphora*[155] with similar scenes on both sides: on side A, Dionysos with his drinking horn in the centre, being greeted with lively gestures by four characters: on the right, a bearded hunter, wearing a beret, and a cloaked youth; on the left, two other youths one of whom is starting to grow a beard[156]. The two dogs and the spears evoke the world of hunting. On side B the setting of the scene is almost identical: but all the youths are naked and the figure with the beret is missing. The presence of Dionysos is not, therefore, limited to the symposium or the gymnasium: for the Amasis Painter he can also make his appearance among hunters. In fact, like athletics and military life, the hunt marks a crucial phase in the life-history of a male, intermediate between the gymnasium and the symposium. Thus the presence of an older figure in this image is logical: he is specifically entrusted with the initiation of youths to the art of hunting[157].

The presence of Dionysos among youths also occurs on a slightly more recent and extremely accurate *amphora*[158]. On one side we are present at the epiphany of Dionysos among four ephebes. The ephebe standing in front of him is holding a little jug with which he is pouring wine into the kantharos of the god, who is displaying cut ivy branches in his other hand. Between the two is an amphora of the same shape as the image-bearer to indicate that the wine is destined for the symposium. The figure behind the ephebe is a young hunter who is greeting the god with his right hand, and in his left is holding a stick from which a hare and a fox, both dead, are hanging. *Fig. 74*

[155] Bloomington 71.82: Beazley Addenda 43 (151); Bothmer 1985 no. 2; Isler 1994, 110.

[156] Bothmer 1985, 63.

[157] At this point it is worth remembering an interesting passage of Athenaeus, Deipn. I 18a, according to which no-one in Macedonia was admitted to the symposium as an equal unless he had succeeded in killing a wild boar.

[158] Munich 8763: Beazley Addenda 43 (151); Bothmer 1985 no. 4; Isler 1994, 110; Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 65; Hamdorf 1986, 81 fig. 43.

To the left of Dionysos is another youth[159] with the same game and an ivy branch in his left hand. He is followed by a fourth youth carrying a full wine-skin. This image shows the connection (which is not obvious) between the ephebe period, also known as the period of hunting, and carrying wine in amphorae into the polis. The other side of the vase shows galloping ephebes accompanied by a running dog, and therefore belongs to the typical repertoire of amphorae focusing on the young horse-rider and the polis.

A slightly smaller amphora belongs to the same period, 550–540 BCE[160]. Dionysos is holding his left hand raised as a sign of greeting and in his right is a drinking horn. The youth standing in front of him carrying a cut ivy branch has a beard sprouting from his chin: a precise and explicit indication of the age in which the event takes place. Instead, a similar branch, a wreath and a longer drooping ivy branch are the attributes of the ephebe to the god's left. Two motionless cloaked youths holding spears form part of the scene: they are the same ones framing the scene on the other side with the messenger Hermes in the centre between a young archer, possibly Apollo, to the left and an ephebe to the right: therefore all those assembled together on the same vase are ephebes, human and divine, with various roles.

To the following decade belongs *the fourth of these amphorae*[161], again with a ephebe with an incipient beard who is pouring wine into a kantharos and welcoming Dionysos. Both he and the god are holding long drooping branches of ivy. Behind Dionysos an ephebe with no attributes is greeting his companions, who are approaching from the right, with gesticulations. The two ephebes at the edges of the scene are carrying wine-skins, and the one on the right is returning the greeting. In this image too, the ephebe phase is made equivalent to the phase of the ivy and the transportation of wine. The other side, with a bride who could be Helen or an anonymous prisoner of war being led away by two warriors, alludes to the next phase in the life of a male: the phase of war. Framing this image

---

[159] Bothmer 1985, 79 calls him a "boy" rather than a "youth", like the other youths, but in the photographs reproduced the reasons for this cannot be seen.

[160] Basel Lu 20: Beazley Addenda 43 (151); Bothmer 1985 no. 8; Isler 1994, 110; Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 74 fig. 8; LIMC III, Dionysos 812.

[161] Munich 1383: Beazley Addenda 42, 150.7; Bothmer 1985 no. 14; Isler 1994, 110; Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 75 fig. 9; LIMC III, Dionysos 807.

are two naked ephebes with a spear, one of them is carrying an aryballos.

In the *last image of this series*[162], all the participants are carrying ivy branches of different lengths. The other attributes are the kantharos of Dionysos, a wine-skin, a dead hare and a little branch of a different plant, which cannot be identified. In a single image are present, as in the first of the series, objects that refer to the transportation of wine and to hunting. On the other side of the vase is a mounted ephebe leaving, with a second horse and male figures surrounding him: a warrior (carrying an aryballos as well as a spear), a cloaked youth and a naked ephebe with a spear and an aryballos. Once again, Dionysos, on this amphora, is associated with the ephebic age: the age that precedes taking part as an equal in the symposium, in which wine is not yet consumed but carried from outside the polis to the inside.

As well as throwing light on an aspect of the god of wine that is not obvious, these images of the Amasis Painter exhibit a peculiar feature of the pottery of Athens, which previous studies, fixed as they are on identifying scenes documented by literary tradition, have ignored: the unambiguously mythological figurations are not the rule but the exception. The rule, in contrast, is made up of images that are set on a level halfway between human and mythical. The intention of the pottery painters is not, usually, to narrate specific mythological events, but to evoke situations of particular significance in the life of whoever was using the vase: very often the deity was depicted when his presence was experienced or when he was considered responsible for specific human situations, rather than for being the protagonist of mythological events between gods and heroes. In other words, the presence of a deity in an image does not mean that the scene depicted was a mythological event set on a separate level or in former times far from the time when the vase was used: rather it means that in the situation evoked the human and divine presence was experienced as equally real and operative.

Concerning the images of Dionysos with ephebes, we must attribute the same degree of reality to all the participants of the scenes. Otherwise, the gestures of greeting between the ephebes and the god

[162] Geneva I 4: Beazley Addenda 42 (150.8); Bothmer 1985 no. 15; Isler 1994, 111.

would not be explained. Dionysos is considered to be truly present and the ephebes and other possible characters are not merely stock figures or meaningless fillers[163]: the peculiar nature of the situation depicted—and therefore evoked—the reason for which this situation was worth decorating an eminent vase, is precisely that ephebes of Athens, both anonymous and typical, at a given moment, experienced the presence of Dionysos. A situation of the kind could obviously have been only ritual in nature: it is the ritual setting that allows the combined presence of a deity and human beings. Obviously, in terms of the style of this artistic genre, which is not realistic but emblematic, this does not mean that the painter wished to depict specific celebrations as the eye actually saw them: instead it means that he wished to convey the generically ritual atmosphere of the meeting between Dionysos and the ephebes.

We can now also understand better the peculiar nature of the dance scenes by the Amasis Painter which we examined first: the introduction of the figure of Dionysos in the komos. In the work of Lydos, komos and thiasos are distinct: the former is set on the human level, the latter on the mythical level. The Amasis Painter, instead, likes to draw attention to the intermediate level, indeed the level of union between human and divine: the ritual level. For this, Dionysos is present in the komos even if the dancers have not—yet—become satyrs.

A ritual reading of the considered images explains why the Amasis Painter was rebuked for preferring compositions of a certain uniformity and symmetry[164]: but these are precisely the most suitable formulae for expressing ritual situations, evidently not spontaneous but regulated. As has been stressed, this does not imply that the images wished to represent specific and identifiable festivals: the peculiarity of this artistic genre lies, instead, in the polyvalence of the possible readings depending on the situation in which the support became operative. For us the most likely hypothesis is that our painter, knowing that the amphorae entrusted to him by Amasis would have been used on Dionysian occasions—symposia, family or group cel-

---

[163] As is continually repeated, following Beazley's example: Carpenter 1986, 46 (with regard to the "Affecter").

[164] Henrichs 1987, 102: "The fastidious, symmetrical arrangement of male and female figures . . . is characteristic of the Amasis Painter . . ."; Carpenter 1986, 46: "Like the Amasis Painter, he is a formalist".

ebrations on the occasion of the festivals of Dionysos, or else funerals[165]—would have chosen images capable of evoking the unmistakable aura of those moments generated by the sense of the divine presence.

Besides the composition and the fact that we are now faced not with individuals but with groups of similar persons, beyond the solemn and uniform gestures, there are also objects that confer an aura of ritual on the figuration: objects that lie outside practical and daily use, such as the kantharos and the drinking horn. In addition, there are objects of a purely symbolic nature, such as the wreaths, the unidentifiable branch[166] and the sprigs of ivy. Ivy has many characteristics that make it a Dionysian plant par excellence: its affinity with the vine, its being evergreen and therefore a winter plant (many of the Dionysian celebrations were in winter). But its special feature is that it has different shaped leaves on its young and old branches[167]: so it is ideally suited as a metaphor of the metamorphoses inherent in human life. If the painter, probably like the ritual evoked, places the ivy branch in the hands of the ephebes, he is in this way alluding to their "fluctuating" identity, characterised by previous and future metamorphoses. These metamorphoses clearly announce different activities and images, such as the hunt and the transportation of wine: proving the hypothesis that Dionysos was held responsible not only for the metamorphoses retold in mythology, but also for those to which man, by the very fact of having a biography comprising of different phases, is automatically subject[168]. If this is the case, it is not surprising to see him in these images as the special patron of ephebes: of the human type in which the metamorphosis is most

---

[165] On death as a Dionysian occasion of metamorphosis: Isler-Kerényi 1993b, 100.

[166] Geneva I 4: Bothmer 1985, 107. Cf. similar branches in clearly ritual contexts: Berlin 1686: Beazley Addenda 77 (296.4); Berlin 1690: Beazley Addenda 42 (151.11); Eleusis 471 (837): Beazley Addenda 83 (309.97); Munich 1441: Beazley Addenda 62 (243.44).

[167] A fact already noted by Theophrastus, Peri phyton 10 (I, 9, 6 and III, 18, 5); Lexikon-Institut Bertelsmann (ed.), Das grosse illustrierte Pflanzenbuch. . . . 1010 (s.v. "Efeu"): ". . . Um diese Zweige herum . . . wachsen rautenförmige oder ovallanzettförmige Blätter, so dass wir nun zwei Blattypen unterscheiden können: den der sterilen und den der fertilen Zweige. Dieses Phänomen, Heterophyllie genannt, hat bereits Theophrast beschäftigt . . ." (information kindly provided by H. Baumann); Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 67; KdS 331.

[168] Isler-Kerényi 1993b, 100.

evident. Patronage of this kind implies, for the ephebic phase, a relationship with wine even though it is a phase that is not characterised by the consumption of wine and by belonging completely to the world of the symposium. The ephebic condition, which prepares for but does not take part in the symposium, is reflected instead metaphorically in the vases present in these figurations, such as the amphora and the wine-skin: containers of wine, intended for the symposium, but which have not yet reached their destination. In this perspective it is completely logical that the series just examined occurs exclusively on amphorae of which we know the ephebic and institutional significance. It goes without saying that the amphorae just described, like those with the female companion of Dionysos in the thiasos, could be suitable to accompany dead youths in the tomb.

If the figurations considered are evoking specific Dionysian rituals, we must ask ourselves to which mythological event these rituals refer: because no ritual exists that does not wish to repeat, and so reinforce[169], a decisive event in the mythological course of the cosmos. We find the answer in the work not of the Amasis Painter but
Fig. 75 of his more celebrated contemporary, Exekias. On an *neck amphora*[170] by him there is an image that is very close to those we are discussing: Dionysos, who is holding a kantharos in one hand and an ivy branch in the other, is in front of an ephebe who, with a little jug, is about to pour the wine of welcome for him. Both figures are accompanied by inscriptions: Dionysos and Oinopion. According to some traditions, Oinopion was one of the sons of Dionysos and also the mythical founder of Chios, to whom the god had transmitted the cultivation of vine (just as Demeter had transmitted the cultivation of grain to Triptolemos)[171]. The ritual task of ephebes transporting wine finds its mythological prefiguration in this image[172]: thus

---

[169] Rudhart 1981, 225: "Le sacrifice. . . . nous apparaît maintenant . . . comme un rappel des événements cosmogoniques et anthropogoniques au cours desquels les puissances et les entités se sont progressivement diversifiés . . . et à la suite desquels leurs conflits se sont résolus dans l'instauration d'un ordre . . ."; Kerényi 1995, 97: "Solche Handlungen waren Wiederholungen mythologischer Ereignisse, von Göttergeschichten, die in den rituellen Bewegungen verkürzt, durch die Dramatik der Zeremonie aber gegenwärtiger wurden als blosse Erzählungen".

[170] London 1836.2–24.127 (B 210): Beazley Addenda 39 (144.7); Bothmer 1985, 47 fig. 41; Shapiro 1989 pl. 41c; LIMC III, Dionysos 785.

[171] Shapiro 1989, 148; LIMC VIII, 1, 921 s.v. Oinopion (O. Touchefeu-Meynier).

[172] For Hamdorf 1986, 22 (with regard to fig. 43) the series of images with Dionysos between ephebes is to be read in a mythological vein: then we would see Oinopion with his companions.

the ephebic ritual celebrated precisely that moment together with Dionysos in his capacity as a civilising god.

Besides transporting wine, the ephebic phase is characterised by hunting, that is by remaining outside the city and beyond the countryside in the realm of Artemis. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Artemis sometimes among the ephebes in place of Dionysos[173]. Even before the hunt, athletic activity belonged to the ephebic phase: in fact, the neck of the amphora just considered shows athletes in contest in the presence of trainers. The same sphere is evoked by the aryballos that we have seen in the hand of some of the ephebes—and also of warriors—by the Amasis Painter.

In the next chapter we will consider at length the Dionysian aryballoi of this period by Nearchos and the Amasis Painter. They will show the link that exists between dancer and satyr: to become a satyr, for example, through masturbation, was one of the ways of approaching Dionysos. Attic aryballoi will confirm that the link between these two Dionysian types that are so widespread in the pottery considered so far is equivalent to a transition. Where, then, is the third masculine type that has just emerged, the ephebe, to be placed? Two oinochoai by the Amasis Painter tell us. On *one of them*, from about 530[174], two female dancers frame a female flute-player and a cloaked youth dancing with a long ivy branch: a scene, perhaps, of initiation into the symposium. A second erotic conversation in a symposial setting is to be found on a *late oinochoe*[175] where, instead, the two boys, one of them wearing the himation, are not dancing but, holding an ivy branch and limit themselves to taking part in the conversation of a richly-dressed mature man with an elegant half-veiled young woman who presents him with a flower. However enigmatic, these two figurations seem to be evoking the intermediate phases in a progressive transformation of an ephebe into a Dionysian dancer in a Dionysian setting.

---

[173] Private collection: Bothmer 1985 no. 21; Louvre F 71: Beazley Addenda 45 (154.49); Bothmer 1985, no. 41. On Dionysos and Artemis see Isler-Kerényi 2002.

[174] Oxford 1965.122: Beazley Addenda 44 (154.45); Bothmer 1985 no. 36; Isler 1994, 111.

[175] New York 59.11.17: Beazley Addenda 44 (153); Bothmer 1985 no. 30; Isler 1994, 112.

Contemporaries of the Amasis Painter

The Swing Painter

We have noted that the especially elaborate presentation of Dionysos is peculiar to the Amasis Painter: which is well suited to the pre-eminent rank of the artist. But it is not essentially different from the image of Dionysos that minor painters contemporary with him offer. A good example is the Swing Painter[176], a specialist in amphorae who was active between 540 and 520 BCE. His work clearly shows the specific nature noted of the decorative repertoire of amphorae, especially the belly amphorae of this period: the dominant motif is the horse[177], either as pulling quadrigae, or as a mount, or as an independent motif (two horses facing each other while a third has fallen to the ground). He (like similar painters) explicitly associates the horse motif with the ephebe[178], who is often a horse-rider but sometimes only an onlooker. The nature of this repertoire could be defined as ephebic even without the presence of the horse: the dominant point of view is however not so much the hunt or the symposium as athletic-military-heroic. The career of an ephebe is of interest especially as orientated towards the status of warrior with its great heroes such as Herakles and Theseus as prototypes[179]. The idea of a "career", which is a succession of phases, is also expressed by the many images that unite anonymous males of various ages: it is not always possible to distinguish in these images which are ritual[180] and which are more generic allusions to specific solemn situations[181]. This "ephebic" connotation of the repertoire of the amphorae by the Swing Painter—but, as we will see, not only by him—illumi-

---

[176] Whose work is easily accessible today: Böhr 1982.

[177] Böhr 1982, 48f.

[178] Examples: Böhr 1982, pls. 3 (New York, private coll.), 22 A (Vatican G 37), 26B (private coll.), 30A (Fiesole, Costantini coll.: Troilos?), 36B (Los Angeles, private coll.), 43B (Würzburg L 259), 44A (Tarquinia RC 3003), 45A (Berlin F 1695), 60A (Malibu), 73 (London 1928.1–17.1: Troilos), 76B (London B 182), 122B (Boulogne 59), 135 (Boston 00.331).

[179] Böhr 1982, 36–43.

[180] As for example Böhr 1982, pls. 6B (Naples 81186), 7B (Orvieto, Faina 52), 41B (New York 41.162.184), 64A (Boston 98.918).

[181] Böhr 1982, pls. 8B (Heidelberg 229: presentation of a bride?), 45B (Berlin 1695: an ephebe welcomed by old men), etc.

nates the appearance, at first glance surprising, of ephebes among the Dionysian images of the Amasis painter.

In comparison, the images of thiasoi are less frequent, even if Dionysos is always among the preferred deities[182] (apart from Athena, who as we have seen is particularly related to the world of amphorae). In the thiasos[183], more often mixed than with satyrs only, the woman of the nuptial-matronly type can also appear[184]. More than once *Fig. 76* there are some satyrs without a tail[185]: an allusion, also found in the images of thiasoi by other painters, to the metamorphosis from dancer to satyr[186]. Of intentionally ambiguous identity are the two figures *Fig. 78–79* carrying a hydria on side B of an amphora with Dionysos between two satyrs on side A[187]. In this repertoire, besides the thiasoi, dancers[188] *Fig. 77* of different ages, bearded or ephebes, continue to be present. The situation corresponds to the one evoked by the amphorae by Lydos with scenes of homoerotic Dionysian dance[189].

---

[182] Böhr 1982. To the examples present in the plates should be added catalogue numbers 10, 39 and 128.

[183] Böhr 1982, pls. 55A (Durham, Univ.), 82a (Athens, Agora P 4633), 84 (Heidelberg 230), 92A (art market), 102A (Tarquinia RC 3022), 108A (Louvre F 226), 131A (Tarquinia RC 3238), without Dionysos: pls. 20A (unknown collection), 42A (Boulogne 564), 112B (Boulogne 15), Dionysos alone: pl. 120B (Madrid 10917).

[184] Böhr 1982, 78 no. 10 (Rome, Villa Giulia); pls. 33B (Montpellier 129) and 69A (Amsterdam 1877).

[185] Böhr 1982, pls. 42A (Boulogne 564), 55A (Durham, Univ.), 92A (art market): in the first case it could be an image that has been retouched in modern times (but the author makes no mention of it), in the second, due to inattention by the painter. But both explanations are hardly plausible in the third case, or in the case of the satyrs accompanying the mule-rider of the krater in plate 144A (St. Petersburg 1524).

[186] Böhr 1982 pl.198B (Berlin F 1697); Los Angeles 50.14.2 (A5832.50–137): Beazley Addenda 35 (133.7); Louvre F 32: Beazley Addenda 36 (135.43); Louvre F 55: Beazley Addenda 35 (133.4); Vatican 360: Beazley ABV 422; Bochum S 485: Kunisch 1996, 80. With these compare the satyr-like or ithyphallic dancers on Tyrrhenian amphorae: Munich 1431: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.99); Munich 1432: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.98); Louvre E 835: Beazley ABV 101, 82; Louvre E 844: Beazley Addenda 27 (100.72); Rome, Conservatori 119: Beazley Addenda 26 (96.21).

[187] Böhr 1982, pl. 108: Louvre F 227 (LIMC III.2, Dionysos 417). See also the dancing couple: pl. 115B: Cerveteri (ex Villa Giulia 48330).

[188] Böhr 1982 pl. 66B (Munich 1387), pl. 68B (Los Angeles), pl. 69B (Amsterdam 1877), pl. 130 (Louvre C 10606). By other painters: Böhr 1982 pl. 153B: Rhodes; Beazley Addenda 37 (137.61): New York 56.171.18.

[189] In one case (Böhr 1982, pl. 41B: New York 41.162.184) the painter uses a formula different from the traditional: strongly ritualised, organised by couples of different ages arranged around a lyre-player. The ivy wreaths of all the participants suggest a Dionysian event.

The Affecter

Another contemporary of the Amasis Painter, particularly disposed to decorating amphorae, and who was exceptionally productive and is quite accessible today[190], is the so-called Affecter, whose activity is also dated between 540 and about 520 BCE[191]. This repertoire too could be described as ephebic and particularly orientated towards the male "career". When Dionysos is present he is placed in a central position, whether it is a divine assembly[192] or else various contexts often marked by the presence of satyrs[193]. He is always wreathed in ivy and his attributes are also those that we know: with one exception[194], always the kantharos and the vine branch. The most common associations portray Dionysos with persons whose identities are elusive, more probably human than divine[195]: among them we meet also homoerotic dancers[196]. More common is the meeting between Dionysos and a matronly figure or a male counterpart, usually in the presence of Hermes and satyrs[197]. If the woman is the typical bride (and in any case only secondarily and optionally Ariadne, bride of Dionysos and model of all brides), the male equivalent could be the typical groom: an hypothesis already put forward with regard to the medallions by the Heidelberg Painter[198]. This alter ego of the god in fact meets Dionysos, also independently of the matron-bride[199].

Fig. 80–81

Fig. 82

---

[190] Mommsen 1975.

[191] Boardman 1990, 70.

[192] Tarquinia 625: Beazley Addenda 63 (245.65).

[193] Boston 01.8053: Beazley Addenda 63 (246.72); Baltimore 48.11: Beazley Addenda 63 (245.69); Vienna IV 4399: Beazley Addenda 63 (245.68 bis) and LIMC III.2, Dionysos 805; London 1837.6–9.99 (B 149): Beazley Addenda 63 (245.60); Rhodes 10770: Beazley Addenda 64 (247.89); New York 18.145.15: Beazley Addenda 64 (247.90) and LIMC III.2, Dionysos 814; Würzburg 176: Beazley Addenda 61 (241.23); Orvieto, Mus. Civ. 1014: Beazley Addenda 62 (244.46) and LIMC III.2, Dionysos 815; Orvieto, Mus. Civ. 240: Beazley Addenda 63 (246.73).

[194] Boston 01.8053: Mommsen 1975, pl. 24 (drinking horn).

[195] Vienna IV 4399: Mommsen 1975 pl. 38B; Rhodes 10770: Mommsen 1975 pl. 75; New York 18.145.15: Mommsen 1975 pl. 76B; Würzburg 176: Mommsen 1975 pl. 95.

[196] New York 18.145.15: Mommsen 1975 pl. 76A.

[197] Boston 01.8053: Mommsen 1975 pl. 24; Baltimore 48.11: Mommsen 1975 pl. 25; Vienna IV 4399: Mommsen 1975 pl. 38; London B 149: Mommsen 1975 pl. 69B; Orvieto 1014: Mommsen 1975 pl. 101; Orvieto 240: Mommsen 1975 pl. 104.

[198] Louvre CA 576: see p. 45f. above. A prototypical matron-bride could also be the woman on the throne on side B of an amphora with Dionysos among gods on side A: Tarquinia 625: Beazley Addenda 63 (245.65).

[199] Vienna IV 4399: Mommsen 1975, pl. 38A; London B 149: Mommsen 1975,

The figure of Hermes acts as an intermediary—but also denotes the distance—between her and the god: the meeting with Dionysos is depicted as a journey similar to the one of the ephebes by the Amasis Painter. Once again we are present at the union of the human and divine levels in an event of a ritual nature. We will find Hermes in a totally similar role and context on a contemporary Little Master cup[200]: which will allow us to deduce which innovations actually took place in the Athenian cult of Dionysos in these decades.

These scenes of probably nuptial meaning often take place, as we have said, in the presence of satyrs (alone or with dancing nymphs, not rarely with their faces ostentatiously turned like a mask towards whoever is looking at the vase). But satyrs and nymphs are present, even if only on the margins, in figurations that are not explicitly Dionysian: for example, of hoplites duelling or leaving[201]. The association of the world of the symposium, to which the satyrs are attributed, with the world of war goes back, as we have seen, to the kylikes of the first half of the century: it is easily explained if human life is experienced in the sense of a Dionysian career, made up of successive phases and articulated by metamorphoses. The phase that interests the Affecter is, however, less the ephebic phase, privileged instead by the Amasis Painter, than the one that follows, characterised for men by military activity in the service of the polis and by the foundation of the oikos, and for women by marriage. A satyr with his face frontal is inserted into an image of the mule-rider, here to be identified as Hephaistos from the tool he is carrying in his hand[202]: here also the presence of numerous anonymous males emphasises the ritual importance of the mythological event. Then, in a *clearly ritual picture* a Dionysian celebration is evoked with a goat and a ram as sacrificial victims, the protagonist and officiant of which is similar to Dionysos, due to the ivy wreath and the kantharos, but is unlike him in the way he is dressed. It should be noted that all the participants are male except for the woman next to the altar[203]:

---

pl. 69N. Instead, Angiolillo 1997, 145–148, as we have seen on p. 45f. n. 124, retains the Ikarios interpretation.

[200] London B 425: to be discussed on p. 160f.

[201] Orvieto, Mus. Civ. 594: Mommsen 1975 pl. 105 s.; Orvieto, Faina 63: Mommsen 1975 pl. 107; Florence 94354: Mommsen 1975 pl. 109; Boulogne, private collection: Mommsen 1975 pl. 111.

[202] Art market or private collection: Beazley Addenda 61 (241.25ter).

[203] Munich 1441: Beazley Addenda 62 (243.44).

the new image of Dionysos proposed in this study will perhaps allow the celebration to be identified in the future. If we consider the whole of his work, it is the ritual sphere that has the greatest affinity with the Affecter, similar in this respect to the Amasis Painter. It is not by chance that modern interpreters, traditionally interested in mythology and in so-called daily life but not in the intermediate and interconnecting zone of ritual, have difficulty in establishing a setting for the images and are led to undervalue the qualities of the painter[204].

In *one of the amphorae by the Affecter* in collaboration with another painter, there are satyrs and nymphs dancing at the symposium of Dionysos connected with the treading of the grapes on the other side of the vase[205]. It is a scene of a completely different character from the others: in fact the style of the drawing reveals the hand of another painter[206]. The first scenes of grape treading by the Amasis Painter, where the treading was combined with the thiasos come to mind[207]. (We will see others by minor painters from the final decades of the century). Both the thiasos and the symposium show the condition of completeness achieved through wine. As we will see in the next chapter, Dionysian happiness will become the main theme of kylikes contemporary with the Affecter: they will make us understand how wine is not the only way to obtain such happiness.

Fig. 83–85

Tyrrhenian amphorae

In a chapter devoted to amphorae of the 6th century, it is essential to consider also Tyrrhenian amphorae, which are the direct continuation of the amphorae with animal friezes from the first decades of the century. As recent studies show, this production is perhaps less ancient than it seems. It is probably to be dated not to the sec-

---

[204] See, for example, Mommsen 1975, 68: ". . . deutlicher ist. . . . der Versuch . . . den Inhalt der Themen seinem Dekorationsstil unterzuordnen" and 82: "Der Affecter entzieht sich auch der Typologie der schwarzfigurigen Themen . . . meist indem er sich auf die dekorative Wirkung der Komposition konzentriert"; Boardman 1974, 65: "The Affecter is a stylist and no other, and the content of his figure scenes concerns him little".

[205] Boston 01.8052: Beazley Addenda 62 (242.35). See also Würzburg HA 115 (L 208): Lissarague 1987, 22 fig. 7; LIMC III, Dionysos 409.

[206] Mommsen 1975, 109 no. 102.

[207] Basel Kä 420, Würzburg L 265, New York 1985.57, discussed on p. 132f. above.

ond quarter of the 6th century, as Beazley thought, but to the decades between 560 and 530[208]. The archaising aspect may be due to the fact that this type of amphora was chiefly intended for the Etruscan market[209].

In this repertoire too, there are numerous images relating to the Dionysian world: both the thiasos[210] and the dance on the human level[211]. In respect of images on vases that are more or less contemporary they present some specific features, perhaps because they were intended for a non-Greek market that required more explicit figurations: the Dionysian dance which, according to the containers present in the image, takes place within the symposium, is sometimes transformed into a copulation[212]. The erotic meaning of the subject is evident also in the large number of Tyrrhenian dancers *Fig. 86–87*

[208] For an excellent summary of the problem see Canciani 1997, 778f.

[209] The localisation of the workshop in Athens is no longer accepted by everyone: Canciani 1997, 779.

[210] Florence 3773 and Berlin 1711: Beazley Addenda 25 (95.8); Leipzig T 3322: Beazley Addenda 25 (96.10); Rome, Villa Giulia 50631: Beazley Para 30 (100.73); Louvre E 862: Beazley ABV 102.94; Louvre C 10519: Beazley ABV 102.95; Copenhagen 323: Beazley Para 38 (102.97); Brussels A 715: Beazley Addenda 27 (103.109); Louvre E 837: Beazley Para 39 (103.110); Leipzig T 4225: Beazley Addenda 28 (104); Louvre C 10696: Beazley Para 40; market: Beazley Para 41; Louvre C 10700: Beazley Para 42.

[211] Philadelphia 2522: Beazley Addenda 25 (95.1); Louvre C 10698: Beazley Para 37 (96.20); Rome, Conservatori 119: Beazley Addenda 26 (96.21); London 1897.7–27.2: Beazley Addenda 26 (97.27); Louvre E 850: Beazley Addenda 26 (97.31); Louvre E 864: Beazley Addenda 26 (97.33); St. Petersburg 1403 (St. 151): Beazley Addenda 26 (98.34); The Hague 608: Beazley Addenda 26 (98.38); Rome, Conservatori 39 (69): Beazley Addenda 26 (98.44); Berlin 1710: Beazley Addenda 26 (98.45); Boston 98.916: Beazley Addenda 26 (98.46); Louvre E 840: Beazley 26 (99.52); Kassel T 386: Beazley Addenda 27 (99.61); Leiden PC 36: Beazley Addenda 27 (100.62); Louvre E 865: Beazley Para 38 (100.66); Syracuse 10599: Beazley Para 38 (100.67); Louvre E 844: Beazley Addenda 27 (100.72); Louvre E 832: Beazley ABV 100.74; Rome, Villa Giulia: Beazley Para 38 (101.78); Louvre E 835: Beazley ABV 101,82; Leiden PC 53: Beazley Addenda 27 (101.87); St. Louis 13.26: Beazley ABV 101.91; Munich 1430: Beazley Addenda (101.92); Louvre C 10519: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.95); Montpellier 149bis (S.A. 256): Beazley Addenda 27 (102.102); market: Beazley Para 39 (102.103); Warsaw 142445: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.104); Louvre E 830: Beazley Para 39 (102.105); Louvre E 838: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.106); Louvre E 841: Beazley Addenda 27 (103.107); Louvre E 842: Beazley Para 39 (103.112); Würzburg 168: Beazley Addenda 27 (103.114); Munich 1427: Beazley Addenda 27 (103.115); Florence 3774 (1845): Beazley ABV 103.116. Other examples, identified by v. Bothmer, have been added by Beazley, Para 40ff. A first list appears in Greifenhagen 1929, 78f.

[212] For example: Sassari 2402: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.96); Copenhagen 323: Beazley Para 38 (102.97); Munich 1432: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.98); Munich 1431: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.99); Orvieto, Faina 2664 (41): Beazley Addenda 27 (102.100); Heidelberg 67.4: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.101).

that are ithyphallic or in the act of masturbation[213], as would be expected more of satyrs[214]. It is also interesting that there is, it seems, a version with only female dancers[215]: Is this an Etruscan variant?

In this repertoire, as in the repertoire of contemporary dinoi[216], at least one dancer is present with a face like a mask and is thus similar to the satyr and simultaneously interacts with the spectator[217]. On at least two vases[218], to which we will return, the Dionysian dancers and satyrs occur in the same image. For the painters of Tyrrhenian amphorae, dancers and satyrs are evidently equivalent, both set in the world of the symposium[219].

In the Tyrrhenian repertoire we find, for the first time, the
Fig. 88–91 grapevine[220]. How important it was is shown by its exceptional size: in fact, it fills as much as a third of the space of the image. It is associated both with the satyrs and the erotic dancing couples and also with Dionysos. *This last example* must be considered more closely also because it is one of the first in which the motif of the mule-
Fig. 92–93 rider, created for kraters and similar vases, is found on an amphora[221]: during the second half of the century the amphora was to remain the privileged image-bearer[222]. Therefore, we have here a motif that

---

[213] Rome, Conservatori 119: Beazley Addenda 26 (96.21); Louvre E 844: Beazley Addenda 27 (100.72); Munich 1432: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.98); Munich 1431: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.99).

[214] This is also shown by crouching and ithyphallic satyrs in the act of masturbation: Cerveteri: Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, 34 fig.1c; Private collection: Schauenburg 1972, 16 fig. 3: this last one, positioned under the handle, is parodistically included in the Judgment of Paris in the main image. The subject is treated in LIMC VIII Suppl., 1120f., Silenoi 111–119.

[215] New York 1980.270: Beazley Addenda 28 (Para 41).

[216] Louvre E 876: discussed on p. 93f.

[217] Munich 1431: CV 7 pl. 317.3.

[218] Copenhagen 323: Beazley Para 38 (102.97); Louvre E 860: Beazley Addenda 27 (103.111).

[219] A satyr whose phallus supports a wreath could indicate, even if only in parodic vein, the ritual atmosphere of the symposium: Schauenburg 1972, 24f. fig. 30 (private collection).

[220] For example: Copenhagen 323: Beazley Para 38 (102.97); Louvre E 860: Beazley Addenda 27 (103, 111); Cerveteri: Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, 133f. fig. 1b–c. But it is not certain that they are earlier than the one by the Amasis Painter on the amphora Würzburg L 265.

[221] Louvre E 860: Hedreen 1992, 22 and 135f. with pl. 30. Concerning the two dancers on the side with Dionysos—but not those on the side with the horse-rider and the satyrs—the text of CV III Hd, pl. 6.2.9 says: two men dancing (restored); LIMC III.2, Dionysos 713.

[222] Cf. the list of black figure Attic images of the mule-rider compiled by Hedreen 1992, 183f.: of the 49 examples, 24 are amphorae (and 2 hydriae), with kylikes

has a more general meaning and is not associated exclusively with the symposium.

The mule-rider has no attributes or deformities that would allow him to be identified as Hephaistos. Furthermore, he is surrounded by dancers and satyrs, one of whom is turning his face toward the outside to interact with whoever is looking at the vase. The event depicted is set, then, not on at a purely mythological level but in between the divine and human worlds, namely—like most of the other figurations of the mule-rider and like the Dionysian dance by the Amasis Painter—ritual[223]. The rider is moving towards the left, where, besides the two dancers and the grapevine—already positioned on the other side of the vase—he will be received by Dionysos who is holding the kantharos, and by a woman standing with two wreaths in her hands. The grapevine is very much in bloom and has, miraculously, light bunches and dark bunches: even the leaves are of two different colours. To reach the grapevine is equivalent, then, to meeting Dionysos: to reach a happy objective. From this image, and from the others in the Tyrrhenian repertoire with the grapevine, there emanates an aura of paradise, which we will see again on kylikes from the second half of the century[224]: the abundance of grapes, the satyr-like condition, and the playful sexuality are similar and connected phenomena, characteristic of a utopian existence of which the symposium is a reflex[225].

The grapevine became part of the repertoire of other amphorae after about 520 BCE in two contexts: the grape harvest[226] and the symposium in the open[227]. This images are often peopled by satyrs *Fig. 95*

---

next in frequency and then oinochoai. The preponderance of the amphorae increases further if to this list are added the examples of satyrs riding horses, as for example Munich 1525: CV 8, pl. 400.2, or of Dionysos on horseback, e.g. Rome, Villa Giulia 772: CV III He, pl. 2.6. On the variations of the mule-rider see p. 83 above.

[223] Instead, Hedreen 1992, 135f., interprets this circumstance as scenic: the images on the vases would be the reflex of dramatic representations of the Return of Hephaistos.

[224] Naples Stg. 172, Oxford 1939.118, Louvre F 130bis, Berlin F 2052, to be discussed on p. 165ff. Cf. KdS 306ff.

[225] Cf. Daraki 1985, 48: "La vigne est un signe central de contextes d'âge d'or".

[226] Hedreen 1992, 85–88 and 185 (list of images with scenes of the preparation of wine); Stähli 1999, 167f.

[227] A good example is Munich 1562 (J 1325): LIMC II, Dionysos 758. The subject is discussed in Hedreen 1992, 22f., 44–46 and 61f. n. 113. For us it does not matter if this vineyard is a particular vineyard in Naxos, connected with a specific episode of the myth of Dionysos and Ariadne: it may have been for some, but

smaller than the other figures[228] and more like monkeys than human beings[229]. We will speak again of the little satyrs in the vine when discussing the kylix by the Kallis Painter.

The vine and wine are obviously closely connected. However, they are not interchangeable on a symbolic level. Because a grapevine, loaded with leaves and bunches of grapes, is above all a gift, indeed a miraculous gift, of nature; whereas wine-making requires time, knowledge and physical effort—that is, techne—and so is a symbol of culture[230]. To pass from vine to wine is equivalent to advancing—in reality and metaphorically—from nature to culture. Dionysos is the patron god of the vine and wine, and also of the metamorphosis of the grape into wine: a metamorphosis which may be miraculous but is painful since, to be transformed into wine the grape must be laboriously trodden, that is, destroyed[231]. In this operation the satyrs—as we are told by the images of grape-treading begun by the Amasis Painter—are the protagonists[232]. These are congenial protagonists if we think of the metamorphosis of a satyr-like existence: of dancers into satyrs, wild satyrs into civilised satyrs. The first variant is set on the ritual level, the second on the mythological level: at a given mythical moment in the course of the formation of the world the wild satyrs—who by their height would have been beings similar to nymphs, dwellers of wild vegetation—become, through Dionysos, tamed and so made compatible with civilised life. Having become experts in harvesting grapes, they now act in culture, producing the wine that will become the instrument of ritual metamorphoses, of controlled lapses into the pre-cultural state that—like music and dance—provide happiness without endangering the order of the polis.

---

much more important and illuminating is its significance as a prototype, a model of happiness, of the situation evoked by these images.

[228] Hedreen 1992, 85: "diminutive silens scrambling in the vines . . .".

[229] Satyrs of this type also recur in other contexts: Munich 1444: Beazley, ABV 325 (amphora with a special shape and decoration, attributed to the circle of the Amasis Painter, CV 7, 47), with little acrobat satyrs clinging onto the vegetal ornamentation under the handles. Cf. also the little satyrs, sometimes with nymphs, in the area of the handles of an amphora by the Affecter Boston 01.8052.

[230] On wine-making as a metaphor of culture: Lissarrague 1987, 9.

[231] Kerényi 1994, 55f.; Daraki 1985, 55: ". . . la valeur de mise à mort rituelle, que des textes plus tardifs attribueront au foulage du raisin, s'affirme dès Hésiode . . .".

[232] But protagonists can also be human males of various ages: Bérard/Vernant 1984, 130 fig. 182; Brijder 1983, pl. 48 c–e; Kunisch 1996, 84ff.

In the past, particular attention has been paid to the *Tyrrhenian amphora* with one of the first figurations that are known of Dionysos among women only[233], not by chance more or less contemporary with the famous image on the neck amphora by the Amasis Painter[234]. In the next chapter, Attic kylikes of the second half of the 6th century will tell us more about the special relationship between Dionysos and the female world.

We cannot pass over in silence some Tyrrhenian amphorae with the figuration of the birth of Athena in which Dionysos is one of the spectators[235]. This reminds us of the participation of Dionysos in the Gigantomachy on dinoi from the Acropolis from the first half of the century[236] and his key role in the wedding of Thetis and Peleus[237]. For "Tyrrhenian" painters the god of the symposium was an active participant in and partly responsible for the mythological events on which the present cosmic order was based, an order in which a crucial position was attributed to the polis of Athens[238]. *Fig. 94*

Conclusion

In this chapter, devoted to the Dionysian repertoire of 6th century amphorae, the numerically most important iconographic motif is the thiasos: with Dionysos surrounded either by satyrs alone or by satyrs and nymphs together, with the god implicitly present even when he does not appear among his followers. The motif makes its appearance, as we have seen, on drinking vessels from the first half of the century, perhaps already around 570 BCE, and is taken up again by communal vessels of the symposium: the version on the column krater by Lydos is the richest one known[239]. After 560 BCE, and produced in abundance by the Group E and by the Amasis Painter, we again find the thiasos on amphorae, which from this point on were to

---

[233] Louvre E 831: Beazley Addenda 27 (103.108); Moraw 1998, no. 10 pl. 3.7; LIMC III, Dionysos 325. On their serpents and the analogy between these and ivy: Kerényi 1994, 53.

[234] Paris, Cab. Méd. 222: see above p. 134f.

[235] Louvre E 852: Beazley Addenda 25 (96.13); Berlin 1704: Beazley Addenda 25 (96.14).

[236] Athens, Acr. 607: discussed on p. 96f.

[237] Cf. pp. 75 and 104f.

[238] Could this not be an argument for the Attic production of Tyrrhenian amphorae? Cf. Canciani 1997, 778f.

[239] New York 31.11.11: see p. 97f.

become the privileged image-bearer. Until the red figures of the 5th century, it would remain one of the commonest motifs in the entire vase painting repertoire[240].

Taking part in the thiasos are new types of woman besides the matron-bride and the female companions of dancers and satyrs: the nymph of Dionysos, the mother of twins, the Sapphic couple. These women reveal, in their aspect and their relationship to the god, a certain ambiguity, mirroring the fluid nature of their status[241]. In this series, the appearance of the thiasos for women only must be emphasised, even if it remains less common than the mixed thiasos or the thiasos only with satyrs: the amphorae confirm the predominantly male connotation of the Dionysian world of vase painting. But the women are ascribed special roles as introducers and mediatrices, emphasised by the ritual attributes they are given especially by the Amasis Painter[242]. However, it is important to remember the moment—around 540 BCE—when an independent relationship was formed between Dionysos and women: the importance of this moment will also be evident from an analysis of the kylikes.

Among the new female characters introduced into the thiasos there is also the woman whose world—the world of Artemis—excludes any male presence. Thus a journey in stages under the care of Dionysos, similar to the male journey, can be inferred for women as well. The phase in which a daughter belongs to her original home and family is followed by a period of instruction in an exclusively female setting, for example in the sanctuaries of Artemis that took in the young bears[243]. This was followed by at least two possible careers. The highest—and more compulsive—was marriage and motherhood: it is not surprising then to find Dionysos in the wedding processions depicted on loutrophoroi, a type of amphora with exclusively female and nuptial significance[244], found in large numbers in the sanctuary of the Nymphe on the slopes of the Acropolis. The

---

[240] Carpenter 1997, 1 n. 1.

[241] On women of intermediate status, that is, the various types of the hetaera, see Calame 1996, 123–129; see also Isler-Kerényi 1999b.

[242] Cf. Calame 1996, 125f.: ". . . la joueuse d'aulos est appelée à contribuer à la fonction éducative de la poésie chantée et dansée à l'occasion de la réunion conviviale".

[243] On the parthenos phase and on marriage as a transition from nature to culture: Versnel 1994, 282f. Cf. also Gentili/Perusino 2002.

[244] Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997, 124f. no. 278 and 173f. no. 413. Cf. above on n. 13.

other possible career must have been, as suggested by the friezes with Troilos and Hephaistos on the François krater, to be a companion of satyrs within the symposium, which is as a hetaera. Lastly, a third possible alternative can be conjectured: to be a companion of a surplus illegitimate son destined to be a craftsman, of whom the mythical prototype was Hephaistos.

In this series of amphorae, the particularly rich and differentiated work of the Amasis Painter has special importance. We have extracted essentially a confirmation of the image that was being formed in the course of the two preceding chapters, devoted to vases more specifically for the symposium. Here also Dionysos is seen above all to be a god of wine, and as such, to be a civilising god. In fact, the introduction of the cultivation of the vine and the art of wine-making are important events in the metamorphosis of the world from primordial and uncultivated to civilised. This role of Dionysos is evident in the repertoire of the Amasis Painter both on the mythical level (with satyrs and nymphs as protagonists) and on the ritual level (with either ephebes or human couples dancing as protagonists): the ritual represents the mythical process from "before" to "after" with a journey that runs from outside, from the wild setting of the hunt and the semi-wild setting of the vine, to the polis. This ritual is a way of strengthening the present order: it is entrusted, so the images tell us, to the ephebes, the civic group that, finding itself in full metamorphosis, becomes more agreeable to this action.

In this chapter we have seen that the ephebe is the new important figure entering Dionysian iconography besides the women who are special in some way. But it is new only apparently and superficially. We have seen in an ancient phase—the phase of Corinthian unguent vases—a connection between the ephebic world, not yet characterised by the consumption of wine, and Dionysos. In considering the figure of the grotesque dancer, we had in fact indicated his being the antithesis of the young athlete, which is one of the most characteristic manifestations of the ephebe. In the pottery from Boeotia, the essential identity between the Dionysian dancer and the satyr is, on the other hand, clearly expressed. This identity is confirmed by figurations of thiasoi on the amphorae: therefore the ephebe turns out to be the antithesis of the satyr also. If, however, the ephebe becomes a dancer, as on the oinochoe by the Amasis Painter[245]—

[245] Oxford 1965.122: see p. 143.

and, as we will see better, on his aryballos—then the antithesis is apparent: it is only the expression of a process, of a foreseeable, gradual metamorphosis of the ephebe into a dancer and of the dancer into a satyr[246].

In the life of the Athenian youth, then, meetings with Dionysos occurred repeatedly and on various occasions: at the moment of coming back into the city after staying in the world of Artemis and at the moment, which followed, of admission to the symposium as an equal. This second moment coincided with the transition from a purely ephebic and youthful world to a world marked by interaction with adult males: a transition with evident erotic connotations. Compared with what we have been able to establish previously, the journey of the ephebe to satyr is now presented in a more sequenced way, articulated by transitions and successive metamorphoses: the ephebes appear in different phases and, in the images of the thiasos, the painter draws a distinction between young and mature satyrs. This succession of different but connected phases is reflected in the attributes of Dionysos and the persons connected with him: in the ivy branch cut off or left to grow, and in the vine branch[247]. As for the wine containers, they symbolise both the temporal, mythical dimension of the Dionysian journey and the spatial, ritual dimension. On the one hand we have the temporal transition from the drinking-horn of the age of the cosmic foundation to the kantharos of the heroic age. On the other, there is the transition of wine from the semi-savage outside to the civilised centre, symbolised by the wine-skin (a container for transportation), the amphora (a container for collection) and finally by the jug and the kantharos (containers of the ritual greeting).

Thus the Dionysian repertoire of the amphorae has not been given enough importance in studies of pottery to date: the presence not only of the mythological setting—in general privileged by scholars—and of the human setting, but also of the ritual setting, that is the

[246] Cf. Calame 1996, 89, on figurations of homoerotic love: "Si le satyre s'humanise, le jeune humain quant à lui se 'satyrise'".

[247] Such a reading of the relationship between ivy and the vine is confirmed by a pelike from the late 6th century BCE (London 1865. 11–18.40: Beazley Addenda 101 [384.20]); Kurtz 1989, pl. 15) which shows on one side an erotic episode involving satyrs, that is wild, enriched by ivy branches and, on the other side, a human erotic episode enriched by vine branches.

interaction between the mythical and human levels. The series of images with Dionysos among ephebes proves that divine and human characters can belong in the same scene for the painters. Such a way of reading can help to define—if not to decipher completely—a large mass of figurations that, read in purely mythological terms, remain largely obscure, as for example the figurations by the Affecter.

The few mythological figurations of the Dionysian repertoire, such as the duel between Herakles and Kyknos and the birth of Athena, confirm the role of Dionysos in the cosmogonic process to be anything but secondary, already revealed to us by the communal containers from the first half of the century: it is to the god of wine that is due the transformation, in successive phases, of the primitive world to the present world. To this role is connected the fact, which has already emerged in the second and third chapters, that Dionysos was also the patron of marriage as a fundamental institution of the polis.

CHAPTER FIVE

DIONYSIAN HAPPINESS: CUPS AND OTHER SMALL VASES FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE 6TH CENTURY BCE

Little Masters cups

These kylikes are to be dated in the decades between 560 and 530 BCE[1] and form the logical continuation of the Komast cups and cups of the Siana type of the first half of the century[2]. The figured decoration is reduced, especially in the so-called lip cups. In most cases it consists of individual animals or hybrid beings such as sphinxes and sirens taken from the repertoire of the animal frieze[3]. Mythological figurations such as the birth of Athena or events from the life of Herakles are much rarer[4]. There are not many explicitly Dionysian images listed by Beazley: two cups show satyrs in the act of masturbation[5] (a motif to which we will return). Among the pieces not included in the lists are examples that attest the persistence of motifs present on cups of the Siana type in this production and other shapes typical of this period: Dionysian dancers and the thiasos[6]. The Dionysian bride who meets Dionysos and the mule-rider are not missing from the thiasos either[7]. In the medallion of a large band cup, we find Dionysos wreathed with ivy between a satyr and a dancing nymph[8], in another an ithyphallic satyr running with a face

Fig. 96–97

[1] Boardman 1974, 61.
[2] Schauenburg 1981, 333ff.; KdS 46f.
[3] KdS 83f. and 96–107.
[4] London 1867.5–8.962 (B 424): Beazley Addenda 48 (168); art market: Beazley ABV 181; ex Deepdene, Hope: Beazley Addenda 51 (184).
[5] London 1846.5–12.1 (B 410): Beazley Addenda 50 (181.3); ex Berlin 1766: Beazley ABV 188.2. On the subject: Beazley JHS 52, 1932, 172 ("it seems to have been a family favourite, for Nearchos/Tleson's father/has it on his aryballos"). On the aryballos see below p. 195.
[6] Louvre F 74: LIMC III.2, Dionysos 809; Munich 2170 and 2212: KdS 146–150; Amsterdam, Theodor Coll. nos. 34 and 43: Heesen 1996 figs. 96 f. and 128f.
[7] Louvre F 75: Beazley Addenda 46 (156.81); Cracow 30: Beazley Addenda 46 (156.84); New York 17.230.5: Beazley Addenda 51 (188. 1) and LIMC IV.2, Hephaistos 139a.
[8] Munich 9436: KdS 148, 23.1.

like a mask that seems to want to interact with whoever is looking at the image[9]. Among the figurations of a thiasos, one with a naked woman pursued by a donkey stands out (in the presence of youths at the climax of sexual excitement, in another of running satyrs) on
Fig. 98 both sides of the vase[10]. This motif is reminiscent of the nymph followed by a satyr astride a mule on a bellied lekythos from the beginning of the century[11]; in both cases we find a paradoxical situation and an antithetical attitude in respect of the norm of the symposium.

Only one cup by the Little Masters shows Dionysos together with
Fig. 99 other deities, the one *signed by Xenokles*[12]. In this case also, experience acquired during the course of this study prevents us from conforming to the traditional tendency of always and only looking for mythological names—and therefore identities[13]—when a god or a hero is present in the figurations. In the upper band of the cup we see four characters. On the right, Dionysos is moving towards the centre, with a huge vine branch loaded with bunches of grapes in his left hand and a large kantharos in his right. In front of him is a young woman with a conspicuous bud held firmly over the kantharos and other flowers in her right hand[14]. The young woman is wearing a cloak which distinguishes her from the hetaera-nymphs on kylikes by the Little Masters and the Kallis Painter that we will look at shortly: so the interpretation as a hetaera-nymph is not the most plausible. A revealing iconographic element is the flower, probably an allusion to the domain of Aphrodite: a domain to which both hetaera-nymphs and young brides belong. The three elements listed—a vine, Dionysos with a kantharos in his hand, a young woman—have already been seen on a Tyrrhenian amphora[15] and on amphorae with figurations of the thiasos especially after about 530 BCE[16]: from them we have deduced that the grapevine evoked the attainment of Dionysian happiness. The woman is followed by Hermes who is

---

[9] Munich 9408: KdS 148, 23.2.
[10] Munich 7414: KdS 150, 23.6.
[11] Buffalo (NY) G 600: discussed on p. 67.
[12] London 1867.5–8.1007 (B 425): Beazley Addenda 51 (184); Schauenburg 1974, 202 figs. 5 and 6.
[13] See the text of A.H. Smith, F.N. Pryce and others in respect of this cup in CV 2, 5 (pl. 13.1).
[14] The only legible illustration is in Hamdorf 1986, 83 fig. 45.
[15] Louvre E 860: discussed on p. 150f.
[16] See p. 115f.

greeting Dionysos with his left hand. The last of the four is another woman, dressed in chiton and stole, who is making a gesture that could be either a farewell or a greeting[17]. The contents of the image can be explained as follows: a woman—a nymph in the widest sense[18]—having left her female companion, is accompanying Hermes to Dionysos. The presence of the divine messenger, who is also a psychopompos, suggests an underworld journey; and the kantharos, a heroic attribute[19], is not alien to that sphere nor are the flowers. But it is still difficult to say whether the female protagonist is Persephone or Ariadne, or a human figure who is identified with either of them. However exceptional on a lip-cup this image is, it is not without analogies, as we will see shortly.

Less obvious is the Dionysian meaning of another motif that often recurs on the Little Master cups, the bust of a female[20]. An indication is given in two cases by the fact that a male bust, bearded and wreathed in ivy, is placed opposite the female bust[21]. The presence of the wreath, however, confirms both variants, female and male, as belonging to the Dionysian sphere, whether it is a god or a human prototype taking on his role and his looks. But, as we will see, the connection with Dionysos will become explicit. Above all, we will try to determine the meaning of these strange images. They are always of young women, perfectly dressed, coiffured and bejewelled. Some of them wear bonnets, more an attribute of a hetaera than a lawful wife[22]. On one of these cups, instead of the potter's signature, there is praise of a hetaera[23]. The identification of these women as

Fig. 100–101

[17] In fact, no iconographic element exists to call her Demeter, as in the text of the CV. The image on the other side, with Zeus and Poseidon on the right, each with his own attributes, in front of a third bearded and cloaked male character who is approaching from the left, the whole thing framed by winged horses, remains enigmatic and provides no further elements for reading the image of Dionysos.

[18] See p. 86f.

[19] Isler-Kerényi 1990b, 45f.

[20] A first list is given by Beazley, JHS 52, 1932, 174f.; other examples are illustrated in KdS 67, 8.4b, 85, 10.9 and 143, 21.6 (Munich 2165); 85, 10.10 (private coll.); KdS 91, 11.5 and 143, 21.4 (Munich 2167); KdS 142, 21.1 (Munich 2163); KdS 143, 21.5 (Munich 2164); Berger/Lullies 1979, 50f. Basel Lu 18.

[21] New York 25.78.4: Beazley Addenda 33 (119. 9); private coll.: KdS 85, 10.10. For Beazley it is Dionysos, cf. also Friis Johansen 1959–60, 137f. who proposes the name Semele or Ariadne for the female protome.

[22] Keuls 1985, 260–273 with figs. 237ff.; cf. the images of hetaerae from the final decades of the 6th century in Peschel 1987, figs. 7–45.

[23] Munich 2167: KdS 143,21 4 with the corresponding text by N. Hoesch.

hetaera-nymphs is thus likely if we consider that the supports of these images were intended for the symposium.

The tradition of this motif in Athens goes back to the belly amphorae of the first quarter of the century on which the female bust is equivalent to the equine protome, and like the contents of the vase, both are used as status symbols[24]. In some cases, the female bust accompanies the male bust on the platform of the handles of column-kraters from the time of Lydos[25]: in this case the primary allusion seems to be to the status of a mature male. Being a companion either of the hetaera or of the lawful wife, he is not able to throw light on the identity of the female figure. The iconographic situation in Attica tells us basically one thing for certain: the female bust is in some way Dionysian and we can call it nymphe. However, once again we are faced with the problem, as previously with the François krater[26], of identifying the woman. This problem must be considered also in the light of the fact that the figure is not depicted completely but only in part. There have been many discussions on whether it is a character emerging from the ground or an 'abbreviated' representation. The most satisfactory interpretation is to give it essentially a ritual reading[27]: this does not exclude, as we have noted several times in the course of this study, that the same formula could allude simultaneously to mythological events from which the rituals were derived. Soon we will return to this problem.

Outside Attic pottery the iconographic precedents of the motif of the female bust are found, for example, in medallions of *Middle Corinthian kylikes*[28]. In one case among those listed there are two busts, facing each other, accompanied by the names "Nebris" and "Glyka": the second ("the sweet one") suitable for a hetaera, the first for a Dionysian nymph[29]. This confirms the reading just proposed that the

---

[24] See p. 113f.

[25] See p. 95f.

[26] Florence 4209: discussed on pp. 75–92.

[27] Bérard 1974, 72f.

[28] Amyx 1988, 195.3 (Boston 12.422 /F 479/); 200.1 (Athens 992 /CC 621/); 204.4 (Louvre CA 2511); 204.5 (Athens 945 /CC 566/). The motif occurs also, in couples or alone, on Corinthian aryballoi: Amyx 1988, 163.5 pl. 63.1 (London 1933.10–26.1); 163.4 (Heidelberg 84); 164.7 (Nîmes). Another thirteen Middle Corinthian aryballoi with a female bust on the handle are listed in Amyx 1988, 164f., one of which is illustrated on pl. 63.2 (Florence 3750).

[29] Amyx 1988, 200.1. For the name see 563.25 with the comment on pp. 554f.

Attic equivalents are nymphs and that the female companions of satyrs are substantially identical with hetaerae, as already hypothesised in respect of the female figures of the Dionysian repertoire of the Amasis Painter[30].

The cup by the Kallis Painter and its forerunners

The Dionysian female busts on Attic cups by the Little Masters are the iconographical precedent of a cup that bears one of the most important and enigmatic figurations of Dionysos, that is, the cup by the Kallis Painter[31]. However, its reading requires considering first an intermediate piece both for chronological location and for decorative formula, attributed to the same painter: a *Droop cup in Athens* with male and female busts intercalated with palmettes[32], still close, for the type of decoration, to the Little Master band cups. The decoration of this kylix has been discussed extensively and accurately: but the reading proposed seems too linked to the presupposition that the persons depicted must be mythological: while in the course of this study we have often established that, in the same image, mythological figures can quite well occur together with prototypical figures, such as for example the ephebe, the matron-bride, and the nymph.

The cup in question shows three human protomes intercalated with palmettes on both sides. A serpent is leaving from each of the four attachments of the handles: all this evokes the chthonian sphere and is, perhaps, to be connected with the fact that the vase has been used in a funerary ritual[33]. On side A, in the centre, a young woman called KALITINE (perhaps for Kallitime) is portrayed with long hair, in which Callipolitis-Feytmans would like to recognise Aphrodite, while she is probably more a nymph in the broadest sense, prototypical, of the term: a female figure at a sexually interesting age[34], who therefore identifies herself with Aphrodite. The male bust on

---

[30] See p. 130ff.

[31] Naples Stg.172: Beazley Addenda 55 (203.1 above); LIMC III.2, Dionysos 55, VII.2, Semele 35, VIII.2, Mainades 1, VIII.2, Silenoi 38a; Hamdorf 1986, 78 fig. 40; Isler-Kerényi 1997c.

[32] Athens 17873: Beazley Addenda 55 (203.2); Callipolitis-Feytmans 1980. Isler-Kerényi 1997c, 90ff. fig. 9.

[33] Callipolitis-Feytmans 1980, 322.

[34] Andò 1996, 55.

the right is wearing a strange head covering: the identification with Hermes[35] is of course acceptable. For the other bust the name of Adonis has been proposed[36], one of Aphrodite's lovers, whose presence in Attic vases of this period, however, is very unlikely. This character[37], mature but youthful, must be the companion of the nymphs and, at the same time, an alter ego of Dionysos like the bearded male figure seen in medallions of kylikes of the Siana type[38], called Ikarios in the past, but without foundation. If the latter were the prototypical groom, he would have had the same role in the symposium and in relation to the hetaera-nymph. As in many other cases, Hermes would have had the function of intermediary between the woman and the bearded youth.

On side B there are three busts of young women each wearing a bonnet and so connecting with most of female busts on Little Master kylikes: the most plausible reading is therefore hetaera-nymphs. Then we would have complementary images on both sides of the cup: on one side a group of nymphs in a setting characterised by plants and serpents, i.e. in the underworld, on the other a single nymph who, in the same setting, through the mediation of Hermes, is meeting a male partner. In this case, the generic allusion to the situation of a symposium, present on cups of the Little Masters with male and female busts, has been modified in a funerary sense.

To the same painter, the Kallis Painter, we owe the kylix already mentioned with a well-known figuration of Dionysos and Semele[39]. Before considering this image we must spend some time on the shape of the vase. In fact, we are no longer faced with a Little Master or Droop cup but with a deep kylix with a low foot, also similar in detail to the profile of the famous eye cup—considered to be the first one known—by Exekias[40]. With this type of cup an innovation was introduced into the repertoire of Athenian painters which rapidly was destined to replace the kylikes like the Little Masters which had been the dominant versions during the third quarter of the century. However, this invention, attributed to the potter Exekias, had not

[35] Callipolitis-Feytmans 1980, 328.
[36] Callipolitis-Feytmans 1980, 328ff.
[37] Callipolitis-Feytmans 1980, 319 fig. 2.
[38] For example, Louvre CA 576: discussed on p. 45f.
[39] See n. 31 above. Interpreted in great detail by Isler-Kerényi 1997c.
[40] Munich 2044: Bloesch 1940, pls. 1,1c and 2,1b.

been born in thin air. The cup with the deep bowl and a continuous profile is connected to a tradition, secondary in respect of cups of the Siana-type and the Little Masters, present well before the middle of the century. To it belong the so-called Merrythought cups[41], two of which have already been discussed[42]. Among the Graeco-Oriental precedents from the first half of the 6th century there are also some *with the bust of a young woman flanked by two large star-shaped rosettes*[43].

The *kylikes of the Berlin Group 1803*, in terms of shape and decoration, are closer to the cups by the Kallis Painter[44]. They have a woman's bust holding a large flower as decoration on each side. The best-preserved exemplar, which has disappeared, shows other flowers next to the central figure that start from the attachment of the handles, and a swan under each of the handles. The flowers and swans evoke the sphere of Aphrodite[45] and so the same female setting of the symposium evoked by the busts of hetaerae on kylikes by the Little Masters and on the Droop cup of Athens[46].

In light of the iconographic situation already described, we will continue with a reading of the *Naples kylix*. On the side that is correctly considered the most important are depicted busts of Dionysos and Semele, face to face, both indicated by their names. Between the two, in the centre of the image, a wreath is hanging and a big kantharos is clearly shown by the god wearing an ornate diadem of single ivy leaves on his forehead and the nape of his neck. In addition, one hand of Semele, also wearing an ivy wreath made conspicuous by the leaves with added white, is shown: it is her right hand, turned towards her face in an enigmatic gesture: we will return to this problem. A second difficulty is that the mother of Dionysos

Fig. 102–103

[41] Also "Knopfhenkelschale": Bloesch 1940, 3.
[42] Munich 2016 and Berlin 3151, discussed above p. 49f.
[43] Callipolitis-Feytmans 1979, 202 fig.4; Isler-Kerényi 1997c, 90 fig. 7.
[44] Ex Berlin 1803: Beazley ABV 202.1; Athens Acr. 1534: Beazley Addenda 55 (202.2); Bloesch 1940, 3 no. 3; Callipolitis-Feytmans 1980, 322f. fig. 5; Isler-Kerényi 1997c, 90 fig. 8.
[45] Delivorrias 1984, 96. On flowers as erotic symbols see Koch-Harnack 1989, 17–185.
[46] In addition cf. the contemporary skyphoi that have, together with an anonymous female bust, cockerels and flower-buds: ex Mannheim 129 (Beazley Para 85, 37); Louvre CA 1919 (Beazley Addenda 54 /199.38/ and LIMC II, Aphrodite 1092); Munich (Beazley Para 85, 39). On the cockerel as a symbol that is both military and erotic: KdS 108–110.

is presented not as a matronly figure but as a nymph. Therefore it is not—or at least not directly—the mythological episode of the deliverance from the Underworld of the mother by the divine son[47]. In fact the two characters are not imagined as emerging: this is shown by the way in which the bust of Dionysos is finished off towards the lower end.

The space between the two figures and the attachments of the handles is filled with enormous grapevines loaded with heavy bunches of grapes: they are reminiscent of the grapevines on some of the Tyrrhenian amphorae or in images of the vine harvest and of the symposium in the open[48], evoking an atmosphere of paradise. A tiny satyr with horse's ears but no tail is climbing up the one on the right: as in many examples already considered, especially on more or less contemporary amphorae, the missing tail could be a deliberate omission to allude to the phase of transition between man and satyr. Another two satyrs, also much smaller than the protagonists of the image, are dancing in the direction of the central figures under the handles, in this way stressing the rank of the side just described as superior to the other.

On side B Dionysos is depicted wreathed in ivy and accompanied by his name. Instead of a kantharos here he is holding a drinking horn in the centre of the image. The female bust represented in front of him is called KALIS and is portrayed, in both hairstyle and dress, as a hetaera-nymph. Her hand is also visible, but in a different gesture from Semele's. This character is followed by another nymph facing the same direction, holding two ivy branches in her hand, who is called SIME, a recurrent name of Dionysian nymphs[49]. A third female bust is positioned behind Dionysos: this woman also holds two ivy branches in her hand. From the top of the picture hang three wreaths. The figurations show no difference in rank between the nymphs.

The obvious similarity between the images on sides A and B of the Naples cup make the different iconographic components stand out, among which two are illuminating because we are able to relate them to remarks made in previous chapters. While the side with Semele is characterised by the presence of a vine, the side with Kalis

---

[47] Callipolitis-Feytmans 1980.
[48] Discussed on p. 151f.
[49] Isler-Kerényi 1997c, 88 n. 9.

is dominated by ivy: not as a plant but in the shape of branches with a ritual function. We have already noted in respect of the amphorae by the Amasis Painter[50] how ivy and vine symbolise two successive moments in the Dionysian course from the ephebe to the satyr. The two sides of our kylix could be in a similar temporal relationship. This is confirmed by the second iconographic difference: on the side with the ivy Dionysos holds the drinking horn, on the side with the vine, the kantharos[51]: a container for wine, but more ritual in nature than referring to the symposium and with a clear heroic meaning[52]. Therefore the rest of the figuration, i.e. the female figures accompanying Dionysos, will also have to be read in this sense. On the side with the ivy and the horn there are three nymphs, with no difference in rank: from the temporal point of view they would represent a moment prior to the side with the vine and the kantharos, where there is only one nymph, who is the mother of Dionysos.

The third difference, which is more difficult to decipher, is set in line with the kantharos at the centre of the image: the hands of the characters. On the side with the three nymphs the god is holding the horn as a simple attribute: the hand fills the minimum space and there is nothing special about it. Kalis makes a generic gesture of greeting, like the one that the satyr's female companion makes towards Dionysos in the first image of grape-treading by the Amasis Painter[53]. On the side with Semele, instead, Dionysos is holding the kantharos emphatically raised, with his fingers in a sophisticated position: it is some sort of sacred gesture. The kantharos, then, is much bigger and fills the whole space of the figuration right to the rim of the cup. This gesture of the god corresponds Semele's, which cannot be a greeting. The difficulty in interpreting it stems from the fact that it has no known parallel of any kind. In addition, as far as we can see, there is no useful text reference[54]. As we will see, the modern use, which could be called apotropaic, of a similar gesture, is not meaningless.

---

[50] See p. 141f. and 156.
[51] On the relationship between the drinking horn and the kantharos see p. 141f.
[52] Isler-Kerényi 1990b, 45f.
[53] Basel Kä 420: Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 73 fig. 4.
[54] Isler-Kerényi 1997c, 95f.; Quintillian, Inst. or. 11, 93. On this work see Schmitt 1992, 46ff.

It will be useful to describe it exactly. Semele is holding her right hand close to the lower part of her face. Her two middle fingers are bent under her thumb and the index and little fingers are stretched out[55]. The direction of the gesture must be emphasised: it is not towards her partner, i.e. Dionysos, but towards herself. This detail is prominent if we compare Semele's gesture with those belonging to eloquence and rhetoric, where their most striking common characteristic is their being directed towards the audience[56]. The outstretched finger is and was used to point. But here it is not the only finger to point because the little finger is in a parallel position: thus there are two things being pointed at, not one, two equivalent things to be sought in the direction indicated, that is, on Semele's face. Therefore we have to think of ears or eyes: this would also explain the modern gesture against evil eyes, i.e. the Evil Eye. The other three fingers kept closed probably allude to something closed in Semele's face: in this case to the part nearest her hand, i.e. her mouth. Read like this Semele's gesture means: "I have heard", or rather, "I have seen but I do not speak".

This reading leads us completely naturally to see in Semele's gesture an allusion to mystery celebrations. Elsewhere we have considered the broader problem of the existence of Dionysian mysteries in the years around 540 BCE in Athens[57]: but there is no reason at all to exclude this possibility. In fact, as we will see when connecting the progress of Dionysian iconography with the historical situation, there are good arguments in favour of this hypothesis[58]. Here we will limit ourselves to explaining what results from the proposed interpretation of the enigmatic gesture. The two images wish to say that while the nymphs, in the sign of the ivy and therefore of Dionysos, are about to begin a mystery-journey[59], Semele has already emerged

[55] The bent fingers could also be the ring and index fingers: the painter's intention, struggling with a completely new motif, is not very clear. However, this does not affect our reading of the gesture.

[56] Isler-Kerényi 1997c, 95 with n. 66.

[57] Isler-Kerényi 1997c, 96ff.

[58] See p. 221f.

[59] Cf. Henrichs 1982, 157: "Yet it is evident that the ivy-leaf served indeed in certain cases as a sign of recognition among Bacchic initiates". Cfr. also Daraki 1985, 26: "plante d'ombre, voire de mort: le lierre".

from it: and she has reached the sphere of the vine, the heroic condition[60], Dionysian happiness. The diminutive satyrs in the vine indicate the mythical moment in which Semele's mystery transition took place: it is positioned between the gift of the vine from Dionysos and the first grape-harvest. As we will see[61], the satyrs have their own independent link with the Bacchic mysteries.

From this hypothesis, two facts emerge. On the one hand, the women in the setting of the symposium had a special relationship with Dionysos: a relationship in which males were relegated to the background and the god's mother had an important role. On the other, the meeting with Dionysos was shaped like a journey, a transition: which, then, implies the presence of Hermes. Here we can recall the other kylix by the same painter on which we were able to identify Hermes in his capacity as intermediary[62] and also the cup signed by Xenokles[63] with Hermes accompanying a woman going to meet Dionysos.

Elsewhere[64] we have examined Semele in detail, who is the mother of Dionysos and in spite of this, a nymph: the son, having been born by a paternal as well as a maternal pregnancy, is the most legitimate of the sons of Zeus. In addition we have discussed the problem of the abnormal relationship between the mother of Dionysos and his bride attested in the iconography, between Semele and Ariadne: where the mother, who is a nymph, can appear younger than the bride who is a matron. Furthermore, mythology draws attention to important affinities between the mother of Dionysos and his bride. In fact, in the course of their own lives, both have a deep caesura at the moment of childbirth: Semele dies, Ariadne, according to the versions known to us[65], is killed or at least falls asleep before meeting Dionysos. If she succeeds in giving birth they could be twins: in this she shows, as we have seen, her affinity with the symposium rather than with the oikos. Both heroines finally attain immortality: Semele, redeemed from the Underworld, would be

[60] We will return to the kantharos, the symbol of this new condition, when discussing the Chalcidian eye cups at the end of this chapter.
[61] See p. 222f.
[62] Athens 17873; here p. 163f.
[63] London 1867.5–8.1007 (B 425); here p. 160f.
[64] Isler-Kerényi 1997c, 94f.
[65] See p. 121f.

accompanied by her son to Olympus, the marriage of Ariadne with Dionysos would become a symbol of everlasting happiness[66]. A journey of this type is the exact prefiguration of the mystery itinerary that always implies, at least on the emotional and metaphorical levels, death and rebirth with a new, evidently better identity[67].

In the end, then, the problems connected with the ambiguous iconography of Semele and Ariadne confirm the hypothesis that, in the female perspective, the meeting with Dionysos takes the form of an initiation and mystery event, whereas in the male perspective the same meeting takes place in the semi-sacred, ritualised setting of the symposium. The respective symbols are not identical: for men it is wine, for women a flower; in comparison, common symbols are the ivy[68] and the vine. Common to these meetings is the crucial role of Dionysos, the real protagonist of both scenes. This explains the fact that, in spite of the female theme, the support of the images analysed is really a cup, the Dionysian vase par excellence.

With this cup, alongside the whole range of women of the Dionysian world already met (the prey of the wild satyr; the female companion of the "tamed" satyr; the matronly bride; the mother of twins; the young Sapphic girl) the mother as the father's privileged erotic companion emerges: like the woman who could attain the status of a mother of legitimate sons[69]. From what has been set out here and in the previous chapter in respect of the mother of twins, the logical conclusion is that, in a female's life—whether of Semele, Ariadne or mortal women—Dionysos comes into action at the moment of motherhood. Because motherhood, whether divine or human, legitimate or not, is always equivalent to a metamorphosis: and as such is to be compared with the metamorphosis that makes an ephebe into a satyr: who in fact appears together with Dionysos in images with young Dionysian mothers on amphorae[70]. It is not by chance that the "mystery" motif of female busts occurs, as we have just seen[71], also on skyphoi: a shape preferred by women whenever they

[66] Kerényi 1994, 222f.; Merkelbach 1988, 58f.
[67] Burkert 1990, 83.
[68] On ivy in a mystery context: Dickie 1995, 84.
[69] Cf. Keuls 1985, 272.
[70] See p. 117. Shapiro 1989, pls. 42.d–e; 43b; 54b.
[71] In n. 46 above.

drank wine[72], as shown especially by representations of rituals on red figure vases[73], but also by the images of hetaerae[74].

With the kylix by the Kallis Painter we are able to grasp, even if vaguely, an aspect of Dionysos which the preceding iconographical tradition, directed chiefly towards the male sphere, had left in the background and which only through amphorae had begun to take shape: the aspect directed towards the female world. Together with this aspect, and in view of the historical setting to which the pottery belongs—6th century Athens—a problem emerged that the community could not ignore: how to define the status of female categories intermediate between hetaerae and normal wives, i.e. mothers of twins, for example Ariadne, or illegitimate mothers of legitimate sons, whose mythical model was Semele.

The eye cup by Exekias

As we have already noted, with this new type of cup, among the most frequent type of vase that was produced in the Kerameikos of Athens, we are witnessing a caesura and a deliberate new beginning[75]. The symbolic piece of this new beginning is *the kylix by Exekias found at Vulci*[76], considered to be the ancestor of a type that was to dominate the pottery production of Athens for more than a generation until about 500 BCE[77]. There are many novelties: the most important innovation, compared with the preceding kylikes by the Little Masters, was the new concept of shape: what mattered more than the elegant effect of the whole was the "architectural" balance between the individual parts. The second innovation, which would form a precedent for more than a generation, was the placement of large eyes on the outside of the cup. The third innovation—exceptional even among the eye cups—was to make the bowl a round frame with a single image, so giving it the character of an independent work of art, not subject to a practical function. Later, this last idea

Fig. 104–107

[72] Scheibler 1983, 20.
[73] Frontisi-Ducroux 1991.
[74] Peschel 1987, passim.
[75] Bloesch 1940, 2: "Das gab wohl einen Aufruhr im Kerameikos, als Exekias seine Augenschale mit dem segelnden Dionysos erstmals zur Schau stellte!".
[76] Munich 2044: Beazley Addenda 41 (146.21); LIMC III.2, Dionysos 788.
[77] Beazley 1986, 62. On this problem see Hannestad 1989, 42; Oakley 1994, 16.

would be adopted on a reduced scale and often executed carelessly on a group of lesser cups from the last quarter of the 6th century[78], in which, typically, the Dionysian theme (Dionysos often with the characters of his thiasos) is predominant.

The eyes

Firstly, let us examine the external decoration of the kylix by Exekias, made up of two elements: the large eyes on both sides which dominate the central space[79], and the groups of fighting hoplites arranged on the two sides of the attachments of the handles. The most enigmatic element, and the most discussed, is the motif of the eyes, giving the cup a life of its own unknown until that time. The immediate meaning of the motif is obvious at once: to transform the kylix into a mask as soon as the drinker lifts it up. This becomes a problem if we consider that, in Greek thought, the function of a mask is not to hide one's face, to create duplicity, but to be placed over a face and erase it[80]. In fact, the eyes of the eye cups are not the eyes of a mask, because they are not empty, but are endowed with their own look.

In order to understand the meaning of this strange decorative formula, scholars have logically wished to go as far back as geometric pottery[81]. It has become clear that the eye, whether on its own or in a pair, had above all the sense of giving life to the object on which it was applied, whether ship, lyre or shield. However, it is precisely the comparison with objects endowed with eyes or even the comparison with vases of other shapes that has highlighted the special, unsurpassed effectiveness of the motif on eye cups, only comparable with 7th century Chalcidian and Ionian cups[82]. The new shape of the cup and the formula of the eyes have a special affinity

---

[78] Collected together by Beazley, ABV 212–215 under the heading "The Segment Class", because usually the round interior is split into a large panel and a segment that acts as a platform; cf. also the more recent survey by Schauenburg 1970, with additions by Boardman 1976, 289 n. 29.

[79] Lissarrague 1987, 134–136. In this essay, the reading of images on vases—chiefly red figure—is often very like our own. However, the approach of the work is different: it does not intend to be a systematic presentation of the Dionysian repertoire but a reflection on the symposium and on symposium pottery based also on literary evidence.

[80] Frontisi-Ducroux 1995, 100f.

[81] Steinhart 1995.

[82] Steinhart 1995, pl. 20.

to each other: which explains the success of Exekias' innovation among his colleagues and successors at the Kerameikos of Athens. In fact, that is how the kylix in Munich is to be considered, even if in reality it was not the only one, but the only one we know[83], and even though it was not the first vase to be decorated with eyes in the history of pottery.

At this point it will be useful to relate the eye cup with the archaic period's thoughts on the functioning of sight. According to Greek concepts, "the eye is the most important and most noble part of the human body", synonymous with sight[84], and functions like "a sort of centre of irradiation"[85]. There are pre-Socratic theories according to which, in vision, two elements come into play: fire and water[86]. In addition, in lyrical poetry, wine is also compared with fire[87]. Therefore, the eyes of the cup refer to the liquid contained in the vase, the mixture of water and wine, rather than to the actual vase. Whoever drank wine in the symposium was struck by inspiration; saw through the wine—i.e. through Dionysos—beyond appearances: the truth behind the evidence.

Sight is a reciprocal phenomenon because seeing presupposes a direct link between the one looking and the one being seen[88]. So the eye cup also always has an interlocutor. How is the situation seen by someone looking at the kylix? On being looked at, he would see a Dionysian character, a satyr, a nymph or even an animal, depending on the case, instead of the person who a moment previous was his table-companion[89]: that is, he would be present at a

---

[83] On the numerical ratio between vases produced and known vases see Bentz 1998, 17f.; but now Kratzmüller 2003.

[84] Nenci 1994, 112f.

[85] Nenci 1994, 114; cf. also Balensiefen 1994, 305–314 and Frontisi-Ducroux/Vernant 1998, 117, for whom a ray springs from the eye which connects it with the object being looked at.

[86] Simon 1992, 232; Frontisi-Ducroux/Vernant 1998, 111: For Alcmaeon of Croton "fire is involved to explain the luminous impression caused by a blow . . . undoubtedly as a factor of luminosity. The role of water, instead, is fundamental: the object is reflected in it . . . Vision is essentially an aquatic phenomenon"; 11f.: for Empedocles also the inside of the eye is made of fire.

[87] Privitera 1970, 97 n. 4: ". . . Like lightning, by striking wine also deifies, makes Archilocus theios . . ."; 103 (wine which warms like the fire in Alcaeus).

[88] Frontisi-Ducroux/Vernant 1998, 114. The fundamental difference between the modern concept and the ancient concept is that the latter does not take light into account as a third factor: Simon 1992, 231f.

[89] Steinhart 1995, 55ff.

metamorphosis[90]. This explains the emphasis that the painter places on the eyes, indeed to the look[91].

Furthermore, this reciprocity of looking and being looked at constitutes the nucleus of the Dionysian mystery experience[92]. Viewed in this way, the kylix by Exekias is connected with the cup by the Kallis Painter not only for its shape but also for its content: both would refer to Bacchic initiations. This formal and conceptual link finds confirmation in some later Attic eye cups[93] which show, between the eyes, parallel anonymous busts of a woman with bare arms in the foreground and a bearded character in the background: an allusion, perhaps, to the status of privileged female partner of some hetaerae, equivalent to the Bacchic initiate[94]. Confirmation of the fact that the eyes on kylikes have an explicit connection with the mystery experience may also be found on a Chalcidian eye cup (we will discuss this production later) where the whole space between the eyes is filled with a large kantharos exactly like the one on the kylix by the Kallis Painter.

On the other hand, it has already been pointed out that the invention of the eye cup coincides chronologically with the introduction of tragedy to Athens[95]. Being a spectacle, tragedy is based on seeing. Thus it is no surprise that there is a structural affinity between the genre of tragedy and the mystery rituals[96] and no accident that tragic texts in particular prove the mystery experience also to have culminated in seeing things that could not or should not be described in words.

---

[90] Kunisch 1996, 110.

[91] The eyes found on vases before the kylix by Exekias are in fact less dominant in the decorative system as a whole: Steinhart 1995, pls. 20.3, 21.2, 24.1, etc.

[92] Schlesier 1998a, 49. On the central nature of this "exchange of looks" in the Bacchae 470 see also Massenzio 1995, 29 and 34f.

[93] Altenburg 224,2: CV 1, 39, 1–3; Christchurch N.Z. 56/58: Beazley Addenda 55 (203.2bis); Paris, Louvre F 136: Beazley Para 93 (203). Similar images on other shapes, such as the lekythos and the krater, have been discussed by Bérard 1974, 63 (in respect of figs. 15 and 16) and related specifically to Semele (171).

[94] The same formula can also be adopted for the warrior (Paris, Louvre F 137: Beazley ABV 203 below. 1): and in fact warrior status is a goal similar to mystery status. In one case, together with the eyes there is a bust of Herakles among busts of warriors (Rome, Villa Giulia: Schauenburg 1974, 152f. fig. 5; Schauenburg 1981, 342 fig. 21) There are two characteristics of Herakles that could explain his connection with mystery rituals: his apotheosis and the fact that, in Eleusis, he was considered to be the protomystes.

[95] Ferrari 1986, 18f.

[96] Schlesier 1995.

We see, then, in the decade between 540 and 530 BCE, in Athens, a threefold coincidence: the invention of the eye cup, the introduction of tragedy, and the institution of Bacchic mysteries: an illuminating coincidence. However, it is insufficient to hypothesise on a direct connection between these three events: to hold, for example, that the eye cup was used during the mystery celebrations. The emergence of a new type of vase endowed with a look is only one of the symptoms of a cultural climate in which, also in other fields and on occasions different from the symposium, eyes and looking have become a topic for reflection[97]. To look and to see—as also to be looked at and to be seen—cease at this moment to be an obvious fact: "what is looked at", i.e. appearance, no longer necessarily coincides with "what is seen", i.e. reality.

At this point it is worth taking into consideration the opposite of sight, that is, blindness. In tragedy, the non-agreement between apparent identity and real identity has as a consequence two similar punishments: blinding (e.g. Oedipus and Lycurgus)[98] and the distortion induced by madness (e.g. Agave). Whoever refuses to see loses his sight. But the same fact can be expressed in another way: Oedipus blinds himself when, finally, he has seen, when his seeing coincides with his knowing. The culmination of the tragic event is, in respect of the culmination of the mystery event, the exact opposite: the two experiences reflect and illuminate each other.

The eye cup functioned in a similar way. Whoever looked at it found himself facing a different person than before: he was present at a metamorphosis[99]. This remains valid even if the intention of the gesture had been, as is plausible in the setting of a symposium, of erotic appeal[100]. Whoever looked also felt being looked at, perhaps "unmasked" even. On the other hand, whoever used the eye cup knew that he looked different from what he was before. In the same instant, and in his original role as symposiast, while imbibing the wine, he also came to be looked at: not by his real interlocutor

[97] Nenci 1994, 112f. on eyes as a political metaphor explicitly attested after the Persian wars.

[98] Edmunds 1986.

[99] On these mechanisms see the reflections by Frontisi-Ducroux 1991, 177ff.

[100] Steinhart 1995, 63. On the role of the eye in the erotic sphere see Calame 1996, 31ff. However, an apotropaic meaning is to be excluded because it is incompatible with the symposial use of the object: Kunisch 1990, 20. On the improper use of this concept in archaeology see Schlesier 1990a, 43.

whom the raised kylix concealed from his view but by the gorgoneion in the centre of the kylix: which, at least metaphorically, immobilised, petrified him[101]. To imbibe the wine from the eye cup was equivalent to two things: externally to a metamorphosis, internally to a death.

This new sense of the importance and problematic of seeing, documented both by the invention of the new type of cup and by the introduction of tragedy and the Bacchic initiations, once discovered and acquired, must gradually have become custom. In every dynamic society the dominant themes are gradually replaced by others that are more current. It is plausible, for example, that during the following years in Athens with the reform of Kleisthenes and with the Persian menace looming, other topics were more prominent. As also, in the humbler and narrower world of the Kerameikos, the invention of the eye cup could have been put in the shade by the even more showy invention of the new red figure technique launched in following decade by the greatest of Exekias' 'pupils', the Andokides Painter. And in parenthesis: Was this change of technique not equivalent to an experiment of an optical type? Does this not explain the execution of the same motif on the same vase, using different techniques[102]? In any case, this would explain the circumstance, enigmatic till now that, towards 500 BCE, the eye cup was no longer in fashion[103].

The battle

The second topic on the eye cup by Exekias to be considered is developed in the *areas of the attachment of the handles*. This is also an innovation: in the previous types of cup—by the Komasts, of the Siana type, by the Little Masters—this part of the vase had not interested the painters at all, except to place palmettes[104] as on the metal vases. In some cases the palmettes were replaced by other subjects, for example sphinxes or lions[105], remote descendants of the

[101] Frontisi-Ducroux 1996, 65ff.

[102] Beazley 1932, 168f. Examples: Boston 01.8037: Beazley Addenda 149 (4.7); Munich 2301: 149 (4.9); Boston 99.538: Beazley Addenda 150 (4.12). Particularly instructive is the example illustrated by Sparkes 1996, 16f. fig. I:10 (Palermo V 650).

[103] Kunisch 1996, 11.

[104] KdS 174 and passim.

[105] KdS 26, 2.2 and 100, 12.18 (Munich 2172): sphinxes; 140.20.1c (Munich 2243): sphinxes; 95, 11.12 (Munich 2193): lions.

animal frieze or even by dolphins that allude to the sea[106], and as we will see, form an integral part of the decorative repertoire on cups of these decades. In the tradition of cups this area is neutral. On kraters, instead, it has a well defined significance as an area of transition, indeed of death[107]. And it is from here that Exekias must have taken the idea of placing there groups of warriors fighting for the corpse of a fallen man. The motif is not new; it goes back to the repertoire of the 7th century[108]. A beautiful orientalising example is on a Rhodian plate[109], with Menelaus and Hector as protagonists fighting for the corpse of the Trojan Euphorbus, an episode from book 18 of the Iliad. It is interesting to note that here already, in the field between the duellists, there is a pair of eyes: in looking at the image one feels that one is being looked at, but by whom?

However, the motif of the disputed dead man is not common in pottery painting before Exekias. We have already discussed the example on the jug by Lydos in Berlin with the duel between Herakles and Ares over the body of Kyknos[110], chronologically not far from the kylix by Exekias. Later the subject would become widespread, especially with the creation of the new type of kalyx-krater in the last phase of Exekias' activity. In the first half of the 6th century, the similar theme of Hektor's corpse lying under the kline of Achilles is much better documented[111].

It has already been noted that Exekias developed the motif in non-identical ways on the two sides of the kylix[112]. In one case we see two groups of three warriors facing each other in completely corresponding positions, even if there are slight differences in their individual armour. The dead man at the centre is dressed and is still wearing his helmet, whereas his weapons and shield are missing. It is noteworthy that he is portrayed not supine but face down and not yet completely extended: the only comparable images are of Ajax having committed suicide[113], particularly suitable for decorating the

[106] Cups intermediate between those of the Siana type and by the Little Masters: Athens 534 (Beazley ABV 56.105); Kassel T 663 (Beazley Addenda 15/56/).
[107] Isler-Kerényi 1997a, 530f.
[108] Isler-Kerényi 1990b, 41.
[109] London A 749: Steinhart 1995, pl. 24.1.
[110] Berlin 1732: discussed on p. 128f.
[111] Isler 1986, 109f.
[112] Beazley 1951, 67f.; the two sides are reproduced side by side in Schefold 1978, 227 figs. 305–306, but the reading proposed is arbitrary.
[113] LIMC I 1, 300 s.v. Aias I.

side areas of vases or at any rate curved spaces[114]. As the sword with which Ajax stabbed himself is missing, the identification of this fallen warrior remains open. We find Ajax again with the same unusual white armour, still active in battle, on an unattributed amphora that is slightly more recent than the kylix by Exekias[115], stylistically related to it. But other heroes also wore this armour[116].

On the other side, the group of three warriors to the right is similar to the image already described: the only difference lies in the way in which the last of the three is holding his shield aloft, which is difficult to understand. The group to the left is far less homogenous than the others because the warrior in the foreground is bent down to drag the dead man to his side, grasping him by his right arm. The fallen warrior is completely stripped and lies supine. It seems possible to interpret the hoplites on the right, who are advancing as a unit, as the victors whereas those on the left find themselves in a defensive position.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify the characters, not even the combatants of the two scenes. There are neither inscriptions nor a univocal iconography. The closest parallels are to be found on two calyx-kraters attributed to Exekias and to his style[117], a late amphora by the same painter[118], and a slightly more recent amphora, unattributed, with scenes of a Trojan battle[119]. The fallen warrior is named on the two sides of the amphora by Exekias now in Philadelphia: on side A is Achilles who, dressed and armed with great accuracy, is being dragged off the field probably by Ajax. The action unfolds from left to right and the Greeks are fighting on the right, as shown by the figure of Menelaus in combat with Amasos, an African. On side B the fallen warrior, dressed but without a helmet, is Antilochos. In the corresponding scene on the calyx-krater found in the agora of Athens, the three Greeks fight on the left: the last of the three is called Diomedes. Of the Trojans on the right the

---

[114] Isler-Kerényi 1997a, 533.

[115] Munich 1415; CV 1 pls. 45.2 and 47.3.

[116] For example, by Memnon on an amphora by Exekias, London 1849.5–18.10 (B 209). Fraser 1935, 37: "This fashion of body armour was coming into vogue in the time of Exekias . . .".

[117] Athens Agora AP 1044: Beazley Addenda 40 (145.19); Athens (ex Volos): Beazley Addenda 41 (148.9).

[118] Philadelphia 3442: Beazley Addenda 40 (145.14).

[119] Munich 1415: CV 1 pls. 45.2 and 47.3.

name Hektor remains. Above the face of the dead man who, strangely, lies with his head to the right, the name Patroklos can be read, partially but with no possibility of doubt. There are no names at all on the Volos krater, which is thought to represent the same event. It is interesting to note the high crest of the combatant in the centre. On the unattributed amphora in Munich, the composition has been modified. We do not have two groups of combatants facing each other but two duelling couples (Aeneas and Neoptolemos, and Menelaus and Paris) arranged in the two halves of the image over a fallen warrior: the one on the left is stripped and supine and his name is illegible, the one on the right is an oriental archer who still manages to remain seated. Ajax, in the centre, is supporting Achilles, dead but still upright, completely naked. This is strange because the iconography of this period always shows Achilles completely clothed and, as a rule, armed with his shield[120].

The iconographic situation described, then, does not provide enough elements to name the combatants and the fallen on the kylix by Exekias. They are related to the duelling hoplites on the outer sides of cups of the Siana type from the second quarter of the 6th century, and like those evoke the warrior identity of the mature symposiast. However, the combat is no longer the sum of individual duels, but rather of a group action: from this can be derived the emergence of a new ethic of the collective that would result, a generation later, in the reform of Kleisthenes. The two episodes are deliberately rendered differently in order to attract attention from anyone looking at the fallen warrior. The intention is not to refer to specific episodes of the epic: what matters is death on the field of battle as such, evidently for the polis. The fallen warrior is anonymous and the reading remains open. In spite of these new emphases, the image remains substantially faithful to the decorative tradition of Attic cups as a synthesis of two elements evocative of death already present in the first half of the century: war and the gorgoneion (to which we will return).

Exekias' idea of using the lateral area of the cup to remember death in battle was reinforced, not long afterwards, by an unattributed *eye cup*[121], chronologically close to the kylikes by Exekias in

[120] Woodford/London 1980.

[121] New York 44.11.1; Bloesch 1940, 8 no. 3; CV 2 pl. 25, 39a–f. Cf. also the fragments of early eye cups published by Hannestad 1989.

Munich and the Kallis Painter in Naples. Between the eyes, the somewhat bloody battle episodes around the handles are combined with duellists fighting each other on one side and with the abduction of a veiled woman by a warrior on the other. Hoplites duelling over a kneeling warrior are also in the same position around the attachments to the handles of an *eye cup in Paris*[122], attributed to the same hand that decorated the phallic kylix in Oxford which we will discuss later. First, however, we will see the motif pass to the red figure repertoire[123]. In the same period, the idea of death in war was also expressed on the inside of the cup: for example, on another *eye cup*, one of the last works that can be attributed to Lydos[124], with two duels between Greeks and Trojans almost coming to an end. On the outer sides of this cup, between the eyes, we see crouching sphinxes and, under the handle, a dolphin. With the dolphin the idea of the sea emerges: we will return to this motif as well.

Fig. 108–110

Considered as a whole, the outside of the kylix by Exekias presents contradictory dynamics: on the side the action takes place parallel with the wall of the vase without the spectator being involved, in fact, leaving him excluded; the central area, instead, functions on an axis that unites the look of the vase, i.e. of the wine, with the one who is looking at it: the cup takes on a life of its own and interacts with external interlocutors. These contradictory dynamics associate the cup by Exekias with the image of Dionysos in the main frieze of the krater by Kleitias[125] and the message is similar: however inevitable death may be, in wine there is life.

The inside of Exekias' cup

This message is confirmed, as we will see immediately, by the *image on the inside of the cup by Exekias*, which is exceptional for various aspects, especially the red surface applied intentionally[126]. This characteristic, which excludes a practical use of the vase, reveals its purely artistic significance. To approach the meaning of this image we will proceed as we have in this study: determining the tradition to which

[122] Louvre F 130: Beazley Addenda 68 (262.49); Boardman 1976, 289 n. 32.
[123] Palermo V 650: Beazley Addenda 67 (256.21 and 150 (5.14); Sparkes 1996, 17 fig. I:10.
[124] New York 25.78.6: Beazley Addenda 32 (116.9); Tiverios 1976, 75 pls. 68–9.
[125] Florence 4209: discussed on p. 78f. See also Frontisi-Ducroux 1991, 177f.
[126] Daraki 1985, 31ff.; Lissarague 1987, 116ff. fig. 94.

it belongs, in spite of its originality; that is, what are the ideas that underlie the artist's choices.

In the light of the cup's tradition, what would have been the most obvious choice? Evidently, the gorgoneion, already present in the repertoire of kylikes of the Siana type and remaining in vogue for the eye cups even after the introduction of the new red figure technique[127]. As we know, the Gorgon's face is a metaphor of death[128]. The Gorgon's staring eyes look, but the look is lethal. It has often been asked why such a motif was the most common in the bottom of Attic cups. We have looked for an explanation by drawing attention to how the cup "functioned": in imbibing wine one would meet the Gorgon's look, one would experience, at least metaphorically, the horror of the end. This matches the hypothesis already proposed in the preceding pages according to which being at the symposium evoked—or celebrated again—the condition of "(being) in suspense" induced by wine, between different phases of life.

Normally it is the drinker who is confronted by death and not his table-companion. However, there are exceptions: for example, cups with a running Gorgon in the space between the eyes[129]; or the famous *eye cup*[130], certainly still of the first generation, which shows the same number of Gorgon faces in the pupils. In this case the interlocutor of the symposiast who is using the kylix sees himself looked at by the Gorgon, in fact by two Gorgons. The gorgoneion in the pupil, called kore in Greek[131], is evidently a manifestation of the goddess of the Underworld. But for the Greeks the pupil is also a mirror of the one being looked at[132]: whoever stood in front of this kylix saw himself identified with the infernal kore. Besides the eyes and the gorgoneia, the decoration of the cup in Cambridge comprises of a standing (not dancing!) nymph instead of the nose and male figures, bearded and standing, wreathed in ivy and holding the drinking horn, between the eyes and the attachments to the handles: characters who obviously identify themselves with Dionysos.

---

[127] Oakley 1994, 17.
[128] Frontisi-Ducroux 1995, 65ff.; Massenzio 1995, 45.
[129] For example Amsterdam, Theodor Coll. 48: Heesen 1996 pl. 48.
[130] Cambridge GR 39.1864 (61): Beazley Addenda 54 (202.2).
[131] Frontisi-Ducroux 1995, 102: ". . . le nom de la pupille, corè, est aussi celui de la jeune fille, et plus particulièrement de celle qui devient la souveraine des Morts, Corè-Perséphone, avec qui Gorgo a quelques affinités".
[132] Frontisi-Ducroux/Vernant 1998, 117.

The whole space between the various elements of the decoration is covered with ivy branches. So once again we find, in an allusive and less accurate execution, most of the motifs already noted on the cup in Naples. It seems, then, that here too we can extract an allusion, perhaps in parody, to mystery celebrations[133].

Dolphins, ships and the sea

Inside his kylix, instead of the obvious formula of the gorgoneion, Exekias shows Dionysos on a ship, with a grapevine and a swarm of dolphins. Here the dominant idea is certainly the sea, an idea induced also by the dark red of the background. It is, in addition, well known that sailing is a metaphor, often used in archaic Greek poetry, for the symposium[134]. In this choice, Exekias also had important predecessors. The oldest among them known to us is Painter C with a *cup of the Siana type*[135] showing, in the medallion, Triton surrounded by a ring of dolphins. Three dolphins also adorn the centre of the *Gordion cup* with the signatures of Kleitias and Ergotimos[136]; and the same motif recurs, but with one of the dolphins playing the aulós, on a *cup of the Siana type*[137]: thus the sea is also music, a motif to which we will return. With these three cups we are still in the decade 570–560 BCE. Slightly more recent is the *Little Master cup*[138] with, on the inside, Herakles fighting Triton, surrounded by various fish and a dolphin, the whole set in a circle of dancing marine nymphs. In all these cases, marine symbols and characters replace the gorgoneion, evocative of death: the bottom of the cup is assimilated to the sea and the bottom of the cosmos, i.e. the Underworld.

Fig. 113

This idea of the sea is expressed more explicitly on Attic eye cups[139] that show, along the inner rim of the bowl, a series of ships (like the dinoi of the second half of the 6th century starting with

---

[133] Allusions to mysteries may be present in other cases as well, as for example in the eye cup Würzburg 427 (Beazley, ABV 202.1), with Dionysos holding the drinking horn in front of a standing nymph, and Munich 2036 (Bloesch 1940, 8.1 pl. 2.2), where, between the eyes, is a praying nymph and the side area shows a large vine.

[134] Lissarrague 1987, 104–118; KdS 319–324 (H.B. Siedentopf); Oakley 1994, 23 with n. 76. On the ship as a metaphor of the polis in Alcaeus' poetry: Gentili 1995, 262–284.

[135] Rhodes 15368: Beazley Addenda 13 (52.16).

[136] Berlin 4604: Beazley Addenda 22 (78.13).

[137] Rome, Villa Giulia 64608; KdS 322, 55.3.

[138] Tarquinia RC 4194: CV Tarquinia II pl. 21.5–6.

[139] Oakley 1994, 16–23.

Exekias)[140] and a gorgoneion in the medallion[141]. In one case, which is particularly elaborate, in which the band with the ships is very wide and enriched with dolphins between the ships[142], we see Poseidon on a seahorse in the medallion. In two cases the decorative formula of the series of ships on the inner rim is attested on late Little Master kylikes, which are also particularly elaborate[143]. But there is also a variant attested with a circle of dolphins around a central gorgoneion and an ivy wreath along the inner rim[144]. In both cases the medallions have a couple of hoplites in combat: obviously another way of evoking a military death. It is no surprise, then, to find again the hoplite (next to his horse) between the eyes of one of the most accurate of these marine cups[145]. Here also the side area has rich vine plants. It is reminiscent of the kylix by the Kallis Painter in Naples, and from this fact it follows that this cup—and many others like it[146]—as in the female mystery passage, could have been an allusion to the passage to a new male status, as a warrior. The sea and sailing become metaphors, not only of the symposium but also of the transitional phase, lived "in suspense", which that new goal presupposes. *Fig. 111–112*

We have noted how, in eye cups, the motif of the hoplite in combat, originally placed in the area of the handles, can also be in the space between the eyes or inside the bowl. The same fluctuation applies in the case of the ship which we find again, in some cases, in the side area[147], in the form of two prows arranged symmetrically to right and left of the attachment of the handles. The subject of

---

[140] Rome, Villa Giulia 50599: Beazley Addenda 41 (146.20). Isler-Kerényi 1997a, 527.

[141] Würzburg ZA 68b (Fujita loan): Oakley 1994, 19 fig. 30; Brussels A 3645 and Haifa, Maritime Museum: Schauenburg 1970 pl. 12.2 and 13.1; Paris, Cab.Méd. 322: Beazley Addenda 101 (380.296).

[142] Louvre F 145: Schauenburg 1970, pl. 12.1. The dolphins between the ships (but two or three instead of one) reappear on a cup of the same type, but with a red figure medallion: London E 2 (Beazley Addenda 198/225.1/; Schauenburg 1970, 34 pl. 13.2; Lissarague 1987, 111 fig. 87).

[143] In fact they are painted with figures even under the foot: Berlin F 1800 and Thera (Greifenhagen 1971, 80 no. 1 and 83 no. 7).

[144] Malibu 82.AE.120: Jordan 1988, 21ff., no. W131; Shefton 1989, 65ff.

[145] Würzburg ZA 68 b: Oakley 1994, 18 figs. 26–28.

[146] For example Cambridge GR 13.1937: Oakley 1994, 21 figs. 31–33. In addition cf. the cup illustrated in Schauenburg 1970, pl. 22 (private collection) with a series of youths, each accompanying his horse, arranged around a central gorgoneion.

[147] Sydney 47.03: Beazley Addenda 56 (207); Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 3385: Beazley Addenda 57 (215). A third example is mentioned in Beazley, ABV 223 under no. 65.

the ship is then repeated on the outer sides of a *type A kylix, but without eyes*[148], signed by Nikosthenes. Instead, the dolphins are, as in the case of many late black figure cups[149], under the handles and can be winged[150]. But not even the eyes remain excluded from this game of sliding and substitution when, instead of on the outside, we find them inside the bowl, apparently to strengthen the efficacy of the Gorgonic look of the central medallion[151]. The second of the cups mentioned shows Dionysos as a symposiast on the outside, wreathed in ivy and surrounded by vine branches[152], as in the kylix by Exekias that we are discussing: hereby it illustrates well how an individual painter felt free to distribute the various motifs as he wished on his vases. Such freedom also allowed him to give back, maybe ironically, a mythological meaning to the gorgoneion, as we see on an *eye cup*[153] already mentioned with regard to the prows of ships, slightly more recent than the one by Exekias.

We now turn to the image in the bowl of the kylix by Exekias. Of the elements present—dolphins, music, the ship, the vine, Dionysos as a symposiast—we have already considered the ship motif, a sign of a sea journey and a metaphor for being "in suspense", in the symposium, between different moments and conditions. To the same order of ideas belong the dolphins[154], the immediate import of which is certainly nautical[155]. In addition, the symposial equation sea-wine puts them in close affinity with Dionysos: which is confirmed by the fact that we also find them on the inner rim of an Ionian kantharos in the shape of a female head[156]. We know of the Dionysian significance of the kantharos already from the 7th century BCE[157].

---

[148] Louvre F 123: Beazley Addenda 60 (231.8).

[149] Beazley, ABV 629ff.

[150] Cleveland 26.514: Beazley Addenda 145 (630.3); Amsterdam, Theodor Coll. 49: Heesen 1996 pl. 49.

[151] Oxford 234: Frontisi-Ducroux 1995, 101 and fig. 56; Schauenburg 1970 pl. 16,2; Arlesheim, private coll.: Schauenburg 1970 pl. 16,3; Nicosia C 431: Beazley Addenda 57 (213.13).

[152] Schauenburg 1970 pl. 17.1–2.

[153] Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek I.N. 3385: Beazley Addenda 57 (215).

[154] On the typology and possible meanings of the dolphin see Isler 1977, 23ff.; Vidali 1997, 105ff.

[155] Lissarrague 1987, 112–116.

[156] Munich 2014: Walter-Karydi 1973 no. 484 pl. 56; KdS 321, 55.2. We will discuss this vase further on.

[157] Isler-Kerényi 1990b, 45.

The question must be raised why, of all the marine animals, it is specifically the dolphin and not merely a fish that lends itself as a Dionysian symbol. The interpretation of Dionysos as a god of all metamorphoses, proposed in this study, highlights one particular quality of the dolphin, which distinguishes it from fish, for example. In fact it lives not in one but in two elements, water and air (which, as we have seen, some painters express by giving it wings): it moves swiftly through the water, but all of a sudden it appears with a leap. For it, life is a continual passage below and above the surface of the sea, between swimming and flying: a transitory and changing way of life. Another obvious characteristic in the image by Exekias and in other contemporary examples[158] is the appearance in swarms the dolphin is not solitary but forms part of a group and by this is reminiscent of the fighting hoplites in the handle zone.

The vine

Besides its obvious connection with wine we have already intuited its 'paradisiacal' significance in respect of the Dionysian amphorae[159]. A similar meaning is derived from the interpretation of the kylix by the Kallis Painter in Naples, where the vine indicates reaching an existential objective. This explains, for example, the presence of the vine in depictions of the apotheosis of Herakles[160], understood as a passage to ultimate happiness. We have already considered a particularly explicit image of Dionysian happiness on an amphora from the final decade of the century with a symposial couple in the shadow of a grapevine[161]. Exekias' paradoxical combination of the vine with the mast of the ship is reminiscent of the famous adventure of the young Dionysos kidnapped by Tyrrhenian pirates[162], later transformed into dolphins. As Exekias had wished to represent Dionysos as a bearded symposiast, the image on the vase cannot have depended directly on poetry: however, both express similar conceptions of the god.

---

[158] Besides the Ionian kantharos already mentioned, compare the Ionian dinos Zurich L 306 (Isler 1977, 15–33) and the Ionian cup in Berlin (Walter-Karydi 1973, 29 and 35 no. 476 pl. 53).

[159] See p. 151ff.

[160] KdS 335, 56.20 (Hydria Munich 1721) and 340, 58.3a (Amphora Munich 2301).

[161] Munich 1562: KdS 330 no. 56.7; LIMC III.2, Dionysos 758.

[162] Hymn. Hom. VII; KdS 321.

Dionysos

The figure of Dionysos has no precedents or obvious analogies. In fact, it is the first known representation of him as a symposiast. He is on the ship as if he were on the symposial kline, simultaneously in the shadow of the vine and on the high seas: a complete and happy person. In his hand he has a large drinking horn which marks him as a god of primordial time or perhaps also—if we think of the kylix by the Kallis Painter—as a mystery god.

The closest analogy is found on a more or less contemporary *Ionian lekythos-amphora*[163], with a symposiast holding a drinking horn, literally suspended, on side A, and an armed hoplite, standing, on side B: two equivalent and complementary ways of indicating the condition of completeness to which every citizen aspired. We find a similar conception on a *late black figure eye cup*[164] of exceptional size[165] with a symposiast musician in its medallion, maybe Dionysos himself, together with a crouching caprid and a wreath of ivy leaves and fruits that fills the rest of the bowl. On the outside, in the space between the eyes, is Dionysos, seated with a kantharos in his hand, between dancing nymphs. Vine branches loaded with grapes cover everything, even the handle area. Another image of symposial happiness is on an *eye cup*[166] slightly later than the kylix by Exekias. Inside its bowl are two symposial couples surrounded by satyrs and grapevines and, in the medallion, the usual gorgoneion: Dionysian happiness and the horror of death are present at the same moment.

Fig. 114–115

The fluctuation of motifs considered in respect of the image of Dionysos in the cup by Exekias—the eyes, the dolphins, the ship, the vine, Dionysos as symposiast, music—from one side to the other and from the outside to the inside of the cup confirms the conceptual links suggested here; it is also a good illustration of a type of communication more like the symposium, "speaking in allegories"[167]. As a consequence, also the decoration of the black figure eye cup, even in its rich and variable motifs, represents a coherent whole, suited to its twofold function of drinking vessel and instrument of metamorphoses.

---

[163] Rhodes 12396: Walter-Karydi 1973, 133 no. 555 pl. 71–2, see p. 58 n. 202.
[164] Rome, Villa Giulia 773: CV Villa Giulia 1, III He pl. 11; LIMC III.2, Dionysos 425.
[165] It is 26 cm. high.
[166] Boulogne 559: Schauenburg 1970, 35 pl. 16.1.
[167] Gentili 1995, 57.

Instead of death, in his kylix Exekias evokes the happiness of being in suspense at the symposium: Dionysian happiness. However, as is clear from the comparison with similar images, either contemporary or slightly earlier or later, this happy state always has death as either complement or presupposition. This death is not only of the warrior, at first glance final and definitive, but also the death implicit in every metamorphosis; and the death that, by means of the Bacchic mysteries, leads to a new life[168].

Cups by the Amasis Painter

The Amasis Painter, besides being one of the most original and productive painters of the third quarter of the 6th century, also proves to be one of the most versatile. This characteristic is evident especially in the particularly varied repertoire of drinking vessels decorated by him[169], a repertoire that includes various kinds of skyphoi and kylikes and also uncommon intermediate shapes. Among the kylikes there are shapes by now traditional, such as Little Master cups, and examples of the new A shape, with and without eyes[170]. Dionysian themes recur repeatedly.

On *one of the band cups*[171] we see on one side the mule-rider holding a drinking horn moving towards the right. He is preceded by a couple, i.e. Dionysos with a matronly figure, and followed by two ithyphallic satyrs who are making a sign of greeting, the second of whom is carrying a brimming wine-skin on his shoulders. A second matronly figure closes the procession on the left. On both edges of the figuration there are anonymous youths, the famous onlookers or bystanders representing the collective[172]: the presence of the latter and the fact that there are two matrons, not just one, suggests, as we have already noted, that in this case too the motif of the mule-rider alludes to a ritual rather than to a mythological event[173]. Side B of the same cup

---

[168] See also Massenzio 1995, 50f.
[169] Malagardis/Iozzo 1995, 202.
[170] The date of these cups and of amphorae has been clarified by Isler 1994, 99ff. and 113f.: Little Master Dionysian cups are dated to around 540 BCE while the eye cups belong to the final phase of the painter's activity between 530 and 515 BCE.
[171] Cracow 30: Beazley Addenda 46 (156.84).
[172] Fehr 1996, 831–833.
[173] See p. 85.

has a rigidly symmetrical image with a standing winged female figure in the centre, who could be Artemis, between armed males, young horsemen and onlookers. It cannot be excluded that there was conceptual relationship between the two sides: we have already noted similarities between Dionysos and Artemis in respect of Dionysian amphorae by the Amasis Painter. Furthermore, it may not be accidental that the horse-riders, a typical representation of young citizens, correspond to the mule-rider, at any rate a plebeian character. In this case the kylix would belong to the common setting of the symposium (evoked by the satyrs and the actual support of the images) and to civic ritual (evoked by the horsemen and the armed youths).

The same argument applies to the other *band cup* with a Dionysian subject[174], which on one side has a thiasos with satyrs and nymphs dancing around Dionysos who has a drinking horn in his hand, in front of a veiled female holding a wreath: once again a ritual situation, but this time explicitly nuptial. On side B various battle episodes can be seen: in the centre a duel between hoplites and on the sides young horsemen and foot soldiers. The theme of the young horseman in a military setting reappears both on a cup of hybrid shape (Little Master but with a foot of the Siana type)[175] and on kylikes of the new A type but without eyes[176].

Fig. 116–117

The most original of the kylikes by the Amasis Painter has an enigmatic as well as a rough decoration[177]. The shape is essentially the same as the eye cup by Exekias, slightly simplified[178]. On one side a single eye is depicted, which is additionally the body of an enormous siren, who, with unfolded wings and open arms, fills all the available space. It is impossible to say for certain to whom her gestures and the whole figure refer: to the dogs defecating between the attachments of the handles, to the two males lying down on the other side, or else to whoever is looking at the image from the outside. Beazley's explanation, often repeated[179], is that the Amasis Painter had wished to parody Exekias' invention. To go further it would be

---

[174] Louvre F 75: Beazley Addenda 46 (156.81); LIMC III.2, Dionysos 714.
[175] Louvre CA 2918: Beazley Addenda 46 (157.85).
[176] Mainz 88: Beazley Addenda 46 (157); Dallas 1981.170: Beazley Addenda 46 (157).
[177] Boston 10.651: Beazley Addenda 46 (157.86).
[178] Bothmer 1985, 222: "The foot is of type A but lacks the fillet between the stem and bowl".
[179] Bothmer 1985, 222; Boardman 1974, 55.

necessary to be able to grasp with precision the meaning of the siren. The iconographical contexts place her in different settings[180]: musical, funerary, but also Dionysian and erotic. So the combination on the same vase with the two symposiasts lying down intent on masturbating "in concert"[181] is no surprise. This figuration is unique and even in the production of Athens has no direct precedents: however, let us remember some significant examples already present in the first half of the century in Corinthian and Boeotian pottery[182], where, unlike Attic painting, which attributes this type of practice to satyrs[183], Dionysian dancers are the masturbators. However, the physical affinity of these two symposiasts with the dancers is noteworthy: this is adequately shown by the protruding belly, the bent legs and the gesture that the person on the left is making to tickle his buttocks. Note also, in the latter, his satyr-like aspect and the garland on his chest reminiscent of the one worn by the satyrs on the skyphos with a thiasos at Rhodes already discussed[184]. The symmetrical arrangement of the two masturbators seems to be an intended reference to the eyes of the eye cups; as we know, these eyes can be of satyrs and make the transformation of anyone using the cup into a satyr. All this is not enough to decipher correctly the meaning of the whole: but it justifies the hypothesis that this kylix by the Amasis Painter also wished to allude to symposial metamorphoses: but unlike Exekias, who expresses himself in solemn language, he intends to emphasise the typical sexual and parodistic atmosphere of the symposium.

The atmosphere of the symposium is also present, even if in more neutral forms, in the *last two Dionysian cups by the Amasis Painter*. The first[185] shows a gorgoneion in the centre between the eyes made very conspicuous with white added to the pupils, on one side a komast, running with a small jug and a kantharos decorated with ivy branches in his hands, on the other a woman holding a lyre and a drooping ivy branch. The second cup, from its shape to be attributed to the end of the painter's career[186], has no eyes. On one side can be seen

[180] LIMC VIII Suppl. s.v. Seirenes (E. Hofstetter).
[181] Hedreen 1992, 130.
[182] Chapter II: On masturbation in Greek culture see Licht 1926, 23–25.
[183] Hedreen 1992, 159f.
[184] Rhodes 11131: discussed on p. 50.
[185] Vatican 369a: Beazley Addenda 46 (157.87).
[186] Oxford 1939.118: Beazley Addenda 46 (157.89).

a bearded male running towards the right, his head wreathed in ivy, turning towards the left and holding a spear and an aryballos in his right hand. The corresponding figure on the other side is a male dressed only in a little cloak, with an oinochoe in his hand.

However, original, the Amasis Painter does not add new elements to the kylikes, as he had done in the amphorae. But through the Boston cup he takes us to a symposial atmosphere, which is explicitly sexual in character.

Phallic kylikes

To this setting belong the only two aryballoi decorated in black figure by Attic painters, to which we will return, and a strange group of cups, almost all eye cups, which have a penis instead of the usual foot[187]. They belong to about 520 BCE or slightly later: *the best-known example is the one now in Oxford*[188]. The external decoration shows, between the eyes, the frontal face of a satyr framed by ivy branches, while in the area of the handles grapevines loaded with bunches of grapes are growing. Inside there is a gorgoneion in the centre surrounded by a rich symposium scene: six mature table-companions are half lying in the shadow of a vine, served by a young cupbearer. Besides the consumption of wine, to which the cups and the kantharos in the hands of the symposiasts allude, the most typical elements of the image are music—with table-companion E playing the aulós and table-companion D singing[189]—and homoerotic love, shown by the attitude of the couple of symposiasts B and C[190] and from the fact that table-companion A is about to throw a sandal towards the boy approaching with a jug[191]. To realise the homoerotic significance of these phallic kylikes even better, it is sufficient to imagine how they were actually used. This is evident from the figuration

---

[187] Boardman 1976, 287 nos. 19–21; Johansen 1976, 108 n. 31.

[188] Oxford 1974.344: Boardman 1976, 281–290; Lissarrague 1987, 56.

[189] Boardman 1976, 285 fig. 8.

[190] B has only a few hairs on his chin like some of the ephebes on amphorae by the Amasis Painter, see p. 138f.

[191] To the comments by Boardman 1976, 286 on the erotic significance of throwing the sandal can now be added those by Weiss 1996 (with corrections to Boardman's list on p. 167 n. 87). The erotic symbolism of the sandal is also shown by the iconography of weddings: Oakley/Sinos 1993, passim (especially 33) and Säflund 1970, 105ff.

itself: in fact, the cups depicted were held not by the handles but by the foot. A phallic cup was held in the same way: the foot in the shape of a penis would be in the hand of the drinker: in this way the kylix was no longer only a device for drinking but also for erotic stimulation.

Apart from this peculiarity, the whole decoration of this cup supports and confirms what we have derived from the analysis of the kylikes by the Kallis Painter, Exekias and by the Amasis Painter: the equivalence, in the symposium, of wine and music[192], the vine as a sign of happiness[193], death at the centre of symposial happiness[194]. If ivy and the vine allude to a journey of metamorphoses, this journey foresees the coming into being of a satyr-like identity by means of the phallus: it is enough to note the correspondence, in the aspect of the kylix as a whole[195], between the satyr's face, the eyes and the penis. It can be emphasised that this correspondence belongs organically to the Greek mentality as also documented by tragedy in the case of Oedipus (and others)[196].

The cup in Oxford is quite close to *the phallic cup in Paris*, which, however, is not an eye cup and has suffered heavy modern interference[197]. The outside shows, at least on the ancient side, a single scene with six naked heterosexual couples, in various positions but all standing, all engaged in making love in the shade of luxuriant grapevines. A single, smaller person is crouching alone beneath one of the attachments of the handles. In the centre of the inside there is a gorgoneion surrounded by a different scene, although it also takes place in the shadow of grapevines. For certain there is a male character seated on a diphros, Dionysos perhaps, in front of whom

---

[192] Lissarrague 1987, 119–133.

[193] As we have suggested in respect of the Tyrrhenian amphorae, see p. 152.

[194] On the connection between love and death and between love and music at the symposium: Calame 1996, 49ff.

[195] Boardman 1976, 282 fig. 1–3.

[196] Edmunds 1986, 237f.: "The myth suggests this tripartite body by means of three relationships—between feet and genitals, between eyes and genitals, and between eyes and feet". In fact it is the foot of the cup that is transformed into a phallus and it is not by chance that we call the support of the vase a foot, cf. Boardman 1976, 288: "The general principle of treating a vase as a human body . . . is of considerable antiquity. We acknowledge the propriety of it by our naming of parts of a vase . . . and the Greeks did the same".

[197] Louvre F 130bis: Boardman 1976, 287 no. 20. Cf. the text concerning pl. 109, 5.8–11 in the CV Louvre 10, 97. This can be compared with the similar scene on a band cup: Berlin 1798: Calame 1996, 86f. pl. I.

is a male figure, possibly a satyr, playing the aulós. The company comprises of at least a mule-rider, a wine-skin bearer, other satyr-like characters and dancing women. They are all moving from left to right; only the seated figure is inclined the other way. Evidently we are in the presence of the mule-rider motif: but it is not clear whether on the mythical level, that is with Hephaistos[198] or on the ritual level. This figuration is reminiscent of a similar one on a *cup with a normal foot signed by the potter Nikosthenes*[199]. In the central medallion, instead of the gorgoneion there is a Gorgon, running. The rest of the inside shows, between grapevines loaded with bunches of grapes, a male character seated with a drinking horn, who could be Dionysos, surrounded by a thiasos formed of two dancing women and three ithyphallic satyrs, one of whom is carrying a wine-skin and a second is playing the aulós. Here too Dionysian happiness is evoked, but on a mythical rather than a ritual level. This kylix can be set alongside *one with a picture of a grape harvest* no less rich than those already seen on amphorae[200].

Fig. 118–120 Yet another decoration is to be found on a *third phallic kylix*[201] on the inside of which is only a gorgoneion and on the outside two different figurations between eyes. On one side we see a symposiast lying down with a kantharos in his hand, Dionysos himself or a mortal who is identified with him and, in front of the kline, a young woman in the act of pouring from a jug. Behind the kline is a grapevine with bunches of grapes. The setting is the same on the other side. But here are seen, on a single symposial kline, two naked couples who, in different positions, are giving themselves with obvious pleasure to erotic play while under the little table a white dog is gnawing a bone just as voluptuously. Note ivy plants here as well to complement the vine, although they are placed in the area of the handles.

The *fourth phallic kylix*[202] is smaller in size but executed more realistically. The decoration is also reduced, with a gorgoneion on the inside and a male figure between eyes on the outside[203].

---

[198] See p. 84.

[199] Louvre F 124: Beazley Addenda 60 (232.15); LIMC III.2, Dionysos 405. On the outside there is only the potter's signature between flower buds.

[200] Cab. Méd. 320: Beazley Addenda 102 (389); Lissarrague 1987 fig. 6; Hamdorf 1986, 64 fig. 19; LIMC III.2, Dionysos 407.

[201] Berlin F 2052: Boardman 1976, 287 no. 19; Johansen 1976, 103 fig. 38.

[202] Compiègne 1098: Boardman 1976, 287 no. 21.

[203] Neither the set of photographs published in CV Compiègne pl. 11, 8.11 nor the corresponding text by M. Flot provide enough information to understand the images: but it seems that one of the ephebes is masturbating.

Although the phallic kylikes represent a tiny group in the totality of contemporary Attic cups, they confirm the general meaning of the decorative system of the eye cups from Exekias, which can be summed up, as we have seen, by the concept of symposial happiness: happiness connected with a metamorphosis and so with a death. More than the normal kylikes they point to the fact that this happiness also lies in sexual pleasure. The sexuality of the symposium, however playful and uninhibited, is then a phenomenon that belongs, no less than other phenomena we would consider nobler and more appropriate, to the sphere of religion[204]. This certainly does not exclude that these facts could be turned into irony: even heavy irony about the gods is not equivalent, for antiquity, to blasphemy. It is sufficient to consider how the figure of Dionysos himself could be presented in the Frogs by Aristophanes. The combination of the eyes, the "look of wine", with the phallus wants to say, either seriously or jokingly—the symposial setting makes fluctuation from one register to another easy[205]—that sexual experience also, like the consumption of wine and like poetry[206], makes one see fully, that is, able to see beyond appearances.

Figured aryballoi

Attic cups have brought us into the explicitly sexual atmosphere of the symposium in which heterosexual and homosexual and even autoerotic practices live together on an absolutely equal footing. Reconnecting with the second chapter of this study, we will now discuss at length Attic aryballoi together with the topic of masturbation. Especially in the 6th century, aryballoi are among the least frequent shapes in Attic pottery[207]. They are associated with the tradition of the Corinthian aryballos that had been, as we may remember, the most common support of the motif of the pot-bellied dancer[208]. We have already noted that this type of vase clearly belongs to the male sphere, as shown for example by the images of young

---

[204] On the religious significance of the symposium see also Lissarrague 1987, 31f.
[205] Cf. the relationship between elegy and iamb in the symposium: Gentili 1995, 45ff.
[206] This is also how the terracotta phalloi decorated with eyes can be understood: Steinhart 1995, 82ff.
[207] Boardman 1974, 190.
[208] See p. 20.

athletes and warriors with the aryballos as an attribute on amphorae by the Amasis Painter[209]. In consideration of this and also of the hypothesis that has become increasingly consistent in the course of this analysis, that the figure of the satyr is equivalent to the Dionysian dancer during the symposium, "lapsing" back to a wild, semi-animal state, the origin of this type of unguent-vase becomes significant: the aryballos in pottery reproduces the little leather bag taken from the testicles of the young ram[210]. Therefore, the link between this container of perfumed oils and the sexual sphere is prefigured by its very genesis.

We have seen, in respect of the amphorae with Dionysos among ephebes by the Amasis Painter that ephebes belong to both the worlds of hunting and athletics[211]. These are indeed present on the *aryballos by the Amasis Painter*[212], one of only two black figure arybal-
Fig. 121
loi with a figured decoration, dated to the decade between 550 and 540 BCE[213]. In view of the favour that Dionysos enjoys among ephebes in the work of this painter, it is no surprise to find him again in the scene on the outer side of the handle. Dionysos, wreathed as usual in ivy, is on the left with a kantharos in one hand while with the other he is making a gesture of greeting, a gesture emphatically reciprocated by two dancers—one an ephebe, the other bearded—who approach him from the right. Neither of the two have the ears or tail of a satyr: but their affinity with the dancing couple which we met on two of the Boeotian tripod pyxides, presumably a generation older[214], is not accidental. The two types of vase in question, the aryballos and the tripod pyxis, are in fact also similar in function as they are unguent-vases of the symposium and masculine. On one of the pyxides[215], one of the dancers is masturbating; the other has become a satyr: and the two scenes can be understood as successive phases of the same process.

---

[209] See p. 139. The prevalent (but not exclusively) male and athletic connotation of the aryballos is also valid for the few Attic red figure examples: Schwarz 1983, 29.

[210] Hommel 1978.

[211] See p. 143.

[212] New York 62.11.11: Beazley Addenda 45 (155).

[213] Isler 1994, 113.

[214] See p. 36. The couple of fighters positioned precisely under the handle of the aryballos corresponds, in turn, to the couple of boxers on Boeotian pyxides Berlin 1727 and Dallas 1981.170.

[215] Athens 938: discussed on p. 37.

The affinity of the aryballos with male sexuality and symposial autoeroticism is confirmed by the direct predecessor of the aryballos just considered, *signed by the potter Nearchos*[216], dating to about 560 BCE, executed with extreme accuracy. The body of the little vase is decorated with half-moons; mythological figurations in miniature appear only on the edges of the lip and the handle: the fight of the pygmies with the cranes and—one could say in the position of spectators—Hermes and Perseus. In the same position as in the scene just considered by the Amasis Painter, there are three satyrs masturbating. The one in the centre in the frontal position has a masked face, turned towards the outside; the two lateral satyrs appear symmetrical in profile. The image could not be more explicit nor could it appeal to anyone looking at it. The same applies to the inscriptions placed between the figures, which are, from left to right, as follows: Chairei Dophios (the masturbator is glad), Terpekelos (the one who enjoys his own arrow) and Psolas (from Psolos which has the same meaning as Dophios)[217]. The signature of the potter is positioned visibly directly beneath this figuration to emphasise its preeminent rank among all the others on the vase. *Fig. 122–123*

The motif of satyrs masturbating, not exceptional in pottery as documented especially by Tyrrhenian amphorae[218], is only emphasising the motif of the ithyphallic satyr turning his face towards whoever is looking at the image, met in the figurations of the mule-rider. Various readings of it have been proposed, as for example a scenic reading[219]: images of this type would refer to theatrical plays with satyrs involved in comical or obscene activities. This interpretation of the satyrs implies the transfer of the whole satyr repertoire to the theatrical level but suffers the twofold defect of leaving unexplained both the ubiquity of satyrs in vase painting and their mythical meaning. Another interpretation, instead, which is more plausible, places the satyr in the setting of the symposium understood as a mirror and an antithesis of reality[220]. In addition, such a reading has the advantage of making clear the distance between Greek mental

---

[216] New York 26.49. Beazley Addenda 23 (83.4); Boardman 1988, 424f.; Stähli 1999, 169f.
[217] AJA 36, 1932, 272–275; BSA 32, 1931–2, 21.
[218] See p. 149f.; Schauenburg 1972, 29; Frontisi-Ducroux 1995, 108ff. fig. 64f.
[219] Hedreen 1992, 27 n. 51; 125ff.
[220] Cf. Frontisi-Ducroux 1995, 111f.

categories, and therefore the moral values connected with sexuality, and our own culture[221].

The interpretation that emerges from our analysis is similar. If, as we have deduced from Boeotian figurations[222], the satyr is the mythological prototype of the Dionysian dancer, that is, of the participant in the symposium, then the ithyphallic or masturbating satyr could mark the metamorphosis of the young male from ephebe to satyr, from eromenos to erastes, from the passive to the active role in love[223]. Definite proof that such metamorphoses, to our eyes strictly individual and private, also had a social meaning in the Greek world comes from images such as the one of a homosexual couple performing in the presence of several male spectators on an amphora by Lydos[224].

Many other images on vases show, as has been indicated above, that the display of sexuality was not taboo at all—at least, let us reiterate, in the setting of the symposium—so that the exhibition, however strong, of one's own sexuality could not be provocative[225]. In fact, like all human displays, it too had its divine patron, namely Dionysos[226]: which could explain the ritual wreath hanging on a satyr's phallus on a Tyrrhenian amphora[227]. Therefore, autoeroticism could have been one way to transfer oneself mentally to a condition

---

[221] Schauenburg 1972, 29. But see already Licht 1926, II 23; and the conclusion of vol. III 238. Calame 1996, 93: "the author adopts a position similar to Frontisi-Ducroux's when he proposes to see in the satyrs the visual expression of anomalous sexual behaviour, the parodistic antithesis of the normal eros of the gymnasium and the symposium. Therefore, in the symposium the figures of the athlete and the satyr would have a function analogous to elegiac poetry (of praise) or vice versa, iambic (of disapproval)". However, this interpretation does not take the distinction made by iconography between a wild and a tame satyr into account. See Chapter 3 and Isler-Kerényi 2004.

[222] See p. 39f.

[223] Cantarella 1992, 65.

[224] Cab. Méd. 206: discussed on p. 126f.

[225] As Hedreen 1992, 158 and Frontisi-Ducroux 1995, 108 claim. Proof that male sexuality as well as the penis on which it is focused, far from being made taboo, enjoyed special attention in the setting of the symposium—and not only in Athens—is given by the phallic kylikes already discussed and by a series of phallus-shaped unguent-vases of various workshops: Boardman 1976, 288f. with n. 26–28; Johansen 1976. In one case (97 fig. 31) the penis has been given the shape of a bull's head; cf. the Corinthian parallels Amyx 1988, 659f.

[226] Cfr. Devereux 1950, 202: "The Mohave believe that every human activity, good, bad and indifferent, was originally instituted by the Gods. Masturbation is no exception to this rule . . .".

[227] Purrmann Coll.: Schauenburg 1972, 24 fig. 30. See p. 150 n. 219.

before civilisation: to "become a satyr"[228], and by so doing to approach Dionysos like the dancers on the aryballos by the Amasis Painter. And they would express in a different way exactly the same content of masturbating satyrs on the aryballos by Nearchos. This transfer required certain ritualised forms: the vase images of satyrs, by their very nature never realistic but allusive, must then have had the function of "representing", of making present to the spirit, the metamorphosis of the symposiast into a satyr; or of stimulating it.

Attic mastoi

At this point we must take another group of vases into consideration: drinking vessels in the form of a female breast. The idea goes back to Corinthian pottery: in Athenian production it was adopted only during a few decades in black figure, from 540 BCE to about the beginning of the 5th century[229]. This period coincides with the fashion of eye cups: among the mastoi, there are eye decorations. It is a phase of particular creativity in pottery, probably connected with a time when the institution of the symposium was exceptionally flourishing.

Regarding the shape of the vase, the question arises on what the practical meaning of the handles could be. When there are any, they are arranged asymmetrically: one horizontally, as on a cup, the other vertically, as on containers used for pouring. There are also different handles in some classes of skyphoi[230], another symposial drinking vase that is more female in connotation[231]: one can imagine that they were finalised at the symposium games[232]. The mastos was used for playing—and not only at the symposium—as proved by the fact that, in some cases, before applying the nipple, the potter had inserted a small pearl into the base of the vase, which, when the vase is

---

[228] Calame 1996, 147 interprets the satyrs similarly but, as a whole, negatively (the satyr is the symposiast when he is not as he should be): ". . . sous l'effet du vin consommé au-delà de la juste mesure, les pulsions transforment les convives du symposion en satyres . . ."; Stähli 1999, 168ff.

[229] Boardman 1974, 188.

[230] On contemporary skyphoi with various handles cf. Sparkes/Talcott 1970, 86f. fig. 4 and pl. 17.361.

[231] See p. 170f.

[232] On the games of the symposium see Lissarrague 1987, 66–82.

handled, makes a special sound[233]. One could say, then, that the pottery breast had two orientations: towards the symposium and towards the world of babies: even though used for drinking wine it also evoked maternal milk. In fact, milk had a special role in non-symposial Dionysian rituals[234].

This twofold connotation of the mastos, both symposial and infantile, is confirmed by its decorative repertoire. Of the ten examples in a sufficient state of conservation collected by Greifenhagen[235], six are decorated with Dionysian or at least symposial motifs, two have generic figurations from the military sphere, and two instead show fights by Herakles with dangerous animals, that is, representations of heroic aretè. The mastos, whether intended for the symposium or for babies, therefore remains predominantly with male connotations.

Among the Dionysian themes are attested the dancers, the male homoerotic couples in action, the mule-rider, dancing satyrs and nymphs. Satyrs, wild women and black men occur on another four mastoi, all by the painter Psiax, one of them with a white background[236].

Fig. 124 Dionysos himself is present on both sides of the *specimen in Würzburg*[237]: seated on a diphros between dancing satyrs[238] on one side, and conversing with a young woman holding two babies on the other. This last image and the amphorae with images of the twin-bearing mother are probably from between 540 and 510 BCE[239]. The relationship with Dionysos, which as we have seen is ambivalent, is still the same: this woman is also looking at the god while she is on the point of moving in the opposite direction. Here too the central couple—but the woman is more at the centre than Dionysos—is set between dancing and gesticulating satyrs, like those surrounding the seated

---

[233] Mertens 1979, 23.

[234] Graf 1980, 214f.; Ricciardelli Apicella 1992, 33ff.; Camassa 1994, 177; Schlesier 1994.

[235] Greifenhagen 1977, 135ff. His no. 7 in the catalogue is attested only in a tiny fragment without figured decoration, whereas no. 12 must be deleted. To this series about another ten can be added: Mertens 1979, 23 n. 16.

[236] Mertens 1979, 22–30.

[237] Würzburg L 391: Beazley Addenda 68 (262.45); Greifenhagen 1977, 136 no. 4; LIMC III.2, Ariadne 159.

[238] The satyr playing the aulós on the left of Dionysos has horse's hooves like the satyrs by Kleitias on the François krater and so is far removed from the usual typology.

[239] See pp. 117–121.

figure on the other side of the vase: we are now, clearly, in the setting of the symposium. But besides the satyrs there is also, on the right edge of the scene, Hermes. In the twin-bearing mother series, the joint presence of Hermes and satyrs is attested by the hydria[240]: in that connection it was suggested that Hermes and the satyrs allude to the harsh alternative—death or demotion—facing the women, who, because of the twins, had been considered adulteresses. The fact that the type of figuration appears, in this case, on a mastos, a shape with prevalently symposial connotations, confirms the hypothesis, also expressed on the basis of the iconographic link of this woman with Aphrodite, that the mothers of twins were destined for this setting.

To conclude we can say that the mothers of twins, perhaps to be identified with Ariadne, belong together with Semele to the group of Dionysian women of problematic status, since they oscillate between the "normal" condition of matron and nymph. Once again we get the impression that these non-standard women, or at least of uncertain status, constituted a problem for the archaic polis. The order of the polis was founded on the univocal and balanced distribution of roles between various categories of citizens, male and female: precisely because of its competence as guarantor of the institutions, the god capable of resolving critical situations, such as the case of the twin-bearing mother, can only have been Dionysos. Unfortunately, written information on the manner in which such critical situations in everyday life were resolved is missing, as in many other cases concerning real life in ancient Athens.

One of the mastoi[241] is decorated on both sides by eyes surrounded by vine branches which start from the area of the handles. On the two sides of the intertwined grapevines are two small satyrs. They remind us of similar satyrs such as on the kylix that we have interpreted in mystery terms[242], or in depictions of Dionysian happiness on amphorae, where we find them in the foliage of the vineyard of Dionysos[243]. The meaning of the mastoi as a whole will have been similar to the meaning of phallic cups: Dionysian happiness is equivalent

[240] Art market: Christie's Geneva, Sale catalogue of 5.5.1979, 21 no. 61.
[241] London B 376: Greifenhagen 1977, 136f. no. 10 pl. 39, 1–3.
[242] Naples Stg. 172: discussed on p. 165ff.
[243] Munich 1562: KdS 330, 56.7.

to a metamorphosis that can be induced either by wine or by sexuality, or by both. An important aspect of this condition consists in looking and seeing in a different and deeper way than happens in everyday life. Considering the symposial use of these objects, it is possible that this meaning is presented ironically: like the phallic cups the mastoi could allude to the Bacchic mysteries and at the same time parody them. But, unlike the phallic cups, the mastoi, besides their twofold function of drinking vessel and erotic stimulus, were reminders of childhood: and this condition is also Dionysian in every sense, belonging to a period of a man's lifetime that is marked by a series of phases and corresponding crises of passage. In fact, a baby could be considered a future symposiast[244]. And for an adult the symposium could be the occasion for recalling phases and conditions of the past life.

Head-kantharoi and Ionian Little Master cups

At this point we are examining a group of vases in Ionia that attest a way of imagining Dionysian effects similar to the ideas circulating in Athenian symposia; even—in view of the Etruscan provenance of most of the examples known—possibly also in Italy. It is a fairly homogeneous series—as they are in part obtained from the same mould[245]—of Janus-shaped kantharoi in the form of a human head attributed to Samian production and dated to the decade 540–530 BCE[246]. Among the human types there are the young male[247], the satyr[248] and the young woman[249]. The young bearded male, who is wearing earrings, reminds us of the anonymous partner wearing a

Fig. 125–126

[244] A hypothesis allowed by the images of babies on the famous "Choenkannen" of the 5th century, cf. Hamilton 1992, 117: ". . . the child . . . playing . . . with the grapes that will eventually become the wine, just as he will eventually (we hope) grow up to take part in the Choes contest". Cf. the review Isler-Kerényi 1995. Cf. also Daraki 1985, 87: "Moitié divin, moitié animal, l'enfant est un petit satyre qui se passe de déguisement".

[245] Walter-Karydi 1973, no. 480 (Boston 98.925), 482 (Berlin F 4013), 483 (Berlin F 4012), 484 (Munich 2014), 486 (Florence V 26).

[246] Walter-Karydi 1973, 30f. with pl. 55–57.

[247] Walter-Karydi 1973, nos. 480, 482 and, perhaps, fragment no. 485 (London 86.4–1.1324).

[248] Walter-Karydi 1973, nos. 481 (Louvre H 42).

[249] Walter-Karydi 1973, nos. 483 and 484.

small necklace of the young woman on the Droop cup decorated with human busts by the Kallis Painter[250]. Like the motifs of human busts and eyes, the kantharoi with human heads express, concisely and efficiently, the importance in a Dionysian setting of expressing oneself and communicating.

The other decorative motifs present in the series, rows of ducks and dolphins, are on the inner side of the rim, and so would have direct contact with the liquid contents of the vase. The dolphins evoke, as we have suggested in respect of the cup by Exekias[251], a mode of existence that fluctuates between two elements. The ducks could have a similar meaning: but instead of water and air, the elements are water and earth. Among the supplementary motifs of the decoration on the outer rim, there are also plants: ivy and laurel, both taken, like the dolphins, from the repertoire of the Little Master kylikes of Samian production[252]. The laurel is a new element in our documentation. A fragmentary Little Master Samian cup[253] with a laurel bush between young horse-riders suggests that this plant was linked with the ephebic and military setting. This setting is evoked in the production along with the setting of the hunt and in combination with dolphins, i.e. with the sea[254].

If we agree with Walter-Karydi that the Samian kantharoi have come from the same workshops as the Little Master cups, and in view of the Dionysian repertoire of the latter and of slightly earlier or more recent related kylikes, a repertoire that includes the Dionysian dancers[255], a satyr playing the aulós[256], the mule-rider[257] or the centaur[258], we can deduce from it a fundamental identity with Attic

---

[250] Athens 17873: see p. 163f. above. The latter can also be matched with those on the upper panel of a Rhodian jug from the first half of the century: Walter-Karydi 1973, 133 no. 530 (Rhodes).

[251] Munich 2044: see p. 171ff. above.

[252] Walter-Karydi 1973, pl. 45–54.

[253] Athens SA 2295: Walter-Karydi 1973, 129 no. 439.

[254] Bonn, privately owned and Vienna 279: Walter-Karydi 1973, 129 nos. 446 and 447.

[255] Walter-Karydi 1973, 127 no. 335b (Vathy, Samos) and 128 no. 419 (Louvre F 68).

[256] Walter-Karydi 1973, 129 no. 445 (Alexandria Egypt 17047 and 17145) and 130 no. 475 (Vathy, Samos).

[257] Walter-Karydi 1973, 130 no. 475 (Vathy, Samos): apparently, fragments of an eye cup.

[258] Walter-Karydi 1973, 129 nos. 446a (Bonn) and 447 (Vienna, Kunsthist. Museum 279).

Dionysian conceptions of the symposium. It is not a coincidence that the combination of the gorgoneion with dolphins[259], reminiscent of the inner decoration of the cup by Exekias, is found here in the inner panel of a cup, coming from at the latest the middle of the century. Consequently we can conclude that the symposial metaphors, reciprocal and intersecting, used by Exekias to evoke the Dionysian metamorphoses induced by wine, but also by music, were then well known well beyond Athens.

However, we do not wish to ignore subjects present on Ionian cups but missing from the Attic repertoire: such as, on the cup with a gorgoneion just mentioned, winged male characters that are revolving as if swimming around the gorgoneion. It is no accident that they remind us of the erotes in figurations of the Laconian symposium: in fact, we know of the links that existed between pottery production in Sparta and in Samos around the middle of the century[260]. On the other hand, at this point it is not necessary to explain why it came that Eros and the erotes were imagined to be present at the symposium.

A completely new and exceptional figure is the person between the trees on the inside of the *best known of the Samian cups*[261]. In order to understand the meaning of this image we would need to identify the trees. We cannot exclude their being ivy plants or that the painter wished simply to evoke the poetry of nature in flower in which plants and animals live in perfect harmony with mankind. It needs to be emphasised that we are faced with an intense evocation of the perfect happiness of the symposium no less intense than in the Exekias cup. However, it is not a permanent, abstract state of being, but transient and fluctuating, again emphasised here by the anonymity of the person.

Chalcidian eye cups

At the end of this chapter we will discuss at length a production that has turned out to be of particular interest in light of the reading proposed here of the cup by the Kallis Painter in terms of mystery[262]

---

[259] Walter-Karydi 1973, 127 no. 35 (Vathy, Samos).
[260] See p. 52.
[261] Louvre F 68; Walter-Karydi 1973, 36 no. 419.
[262] Naples Stg. 172: see p. 165ff.

and in light of the resulting new evaluation of the eye motif on Attic cups. After Attic and Corinthian pottery, Chalcidian pottery is the richest in respect of figurative repertoire and therefore has a privileged status in pottery studies[263]. The most disputed question concerns the centre of production, about which diverse proposals have been made in the course of research[264], from Chalkis in Euboea (hence the name of the style), to Eastern Greece, to Italy. The finds of recent decades suggest that the most likely centre is Rhegion in Magna Grecia[265]. The production of figured pottery in the various workshops of Rhegion began in about 570 BCE and came to an end at the close of the century[266]. Both the choice of shapes and the figurative repertoire correspond in broad outline to those in other Greek centres, even if with peculiar preferences. For us it is important to note that Dionysian themes are present already in the earliest phases of this production and include almost all the main types: grotesque dancers[267], the thiasos of satyrs and nymphs (but without Dionysos)[268], the mule-rider (with Dionysos)[269], and the symposium[270]. There is an original figuration on a refresher-amphora from the first phase of Chalcidian pottery[271]. In the largest panel one can see a satyr, fat and hairy, crouching in ambush behind a palm-tree in the centre of the image, observing a dancing nymph to the right. The

[263] The "canonical" treatment is by Rumpf 1927, a model for the completeness of its photographic display, completed by Iozzo 1994, who makes all the material available that has emerged since 1927. There is a brief summary by Boardman 1998, 217–219.

[264] Isler 1983, 17.

[265] Iozzo 1994, 251; Isler 1983, 17 n. 6. Likewise now also Boardman 1998, 217.

[266] Iozzo 1994, 150.

[267] Examples: Amphorae Leiden 1626 (Rumpf 1927 pl. 2; Boardman 1998, 238 fig. 472) and Vienna 1041 (Rumpf 1927 pl. 209).

[268] Examples: Amphorae Leiden 1626 (see previous note), Basle Kä 417 (Iozzo 1994, 15 with bibliography that needs correcting: Schefold 1960, p. 164 no. 153) and Vatican 224 (Rumpf 1927, pl. 206); krater Brussels A 135 (Rumpf 1927, pl. 27; LIMC VIII Suppl., Nymphai 41a); one-handled tankards Brussels A 3599 and New York 1981.11.4 (Iozzo 1994, pl. 12 and 13/4).

[269] Amphora New York 1956.171.1: Iozzo 1994, 50 pls. 38–39. See also Iozzo 1994, 99f.

[270] Side B of the amphora mentioned in the preceding n.; skyphos Copenhagen 64 (Rumpf 1927, pls. 37–39); amphora in the Churchill coll. (Rumpf 1927, pls. 52–53): these symposiasts are copying, in an exaggerated way, the symposiasts on Attic kylikes of the Siana type.

[271] Rome, Villa Giulia 50410 (Castellani 47): Rumpf 1927 pls. 118–119; Simon 1976, 63 fig. 40; Boardman 1998, 242 fig. 477; LIMC VIII.2, Nymphai 43.

situation is reminiscent of the one on the slightly older fragmentary Attic dinos[272] and attests a similar conception of Dionysian characters, documented in this vase also by the combination of this image with an extract from the Judgment of Paris (three women in the retinue of Hermes), a "nuptial" subject, on the other side. Even more noteworthy is the originality of the rendering of the satyr in respect of the Attic model, confirmed by the following Chalcidian images of satyrs: their most peculiar characteristics are large heads with thick hair, beards and a general aspect that is at once wild and comical.

The best known Dionysian decoration of Chalcidian production is found on *an extremely accurate eye cup* generally dated to about 530 BCE[273]. On the outside, besides the eyes, the ears and the satyr-like nose (which are typical of Chalcidian cups), a panther's face can be seen in the centre, and on the sides of the attachments of the handles, erotic couples of satyrs and nymphs in various positions. Under the handle, a bird in the air and another on the ground show that the scene is in the open. The inside of the cup is more original, with a satyr mask instead of the gorgoneion in the central medallion and, along the rim, a band with rich mythological scenes. The first image contains marine and symposial allusions: in fact, the subject is the story of Phineus whose food the Harpies stole: they were pursued on the waves of the sea by the Boreads. In this scene, Phineus, lying on his kline and surrounded by standing elegant young women, one of whom holds a flower, is a symposiast manqué. On the right the scene has changed. Under a palm-tree in the shade of a dense ivy plant are three crouching nymphs, intent on washing themselves after removing their clothes, unaware of the two satyrs beyond the palm-tree approaching stealthily from the right hoping to surprise them. No notice is taken of all this by the couple Dionysos and Ariadne (?), standing solemnly on a cart pulled by a lion, a panther and two stags going towards a monumental fountain in the shade of a grapevine on the right. One of the two satyrs noisily accompanying the divine couple is expressing, one could say, his surprise at having found water[274], the other is performing obscene acro-

[272] Athens, Agorà P 334, discussed on p. 65f.

[273] Würzburg 354 (L 164): Rumpf 1927 pl. 40–44; Boardman 1998, 243 fig. 479; LIMC III.1, 487 Dionysos 763 and VIII.2 Nymphai 71.

[274] According to a hypothesis of Simon 1980, 288, miraculously turned into wine.

batics on the lion's back. The atmosphere pervading the two scenes is one of erotic tension as well as joy derived from peace in nature (symbols of which are the four animals drawing the car, normally incompatible with each other and with this role): the symposial utopia expressed by many Attic cups from the same period.

This kylix is the best known—and the only one that also has internal decoration—of a series of Chalcidian eye cups[275] which, according to what was originally thought, seems to precede the Attic cups. Instead the latter were inspired by the former (although retaining certain characteristics of their own, including the low splayed foot like the base of a column)[276]. Here the eyes are always those of a satyr, clearly an allusion to the metamorphosis of the symposiast into a satyr as with the mask in the centre of the cup by Phineus[277]. When figures are added to the eyes and sometimes to the ivy branches in the area of the handles, they are always satyrs and nymphs[278]. In one case the eyes are simultaneously the ship's sails[279]: an idea that reminds us of the ship on the cup by Exekias[280] and the games of substitution and slippage among the various Dionysian symbols—marine, symposial, erotic, musical—present on many other Attic kylikes contemporary with the Chalcidian ones. The transformation of the ivy branch on the sides of the handles into a serpent is a similar game, but original compared to the Attic variants[281].

Fig. 127

However, in two cases it is more surprising to find a large and elegant kantharos between the eyes[282], the handles of which, as on the Naples kylix[283] actually touch the rim of the vase. There is a kantharos only on one of the sides, which emphasises its superior rank to other ornamental motifs. On the other side there is either simply a nose, or[284] a siren: which instead reminds us of the enormous

[275] Rumpf 1927 pls. 177–190; Iozzo 1994 pls. 89–96.
[276] Boardman 1998, 217; Iozzo 1994, 83f.
[277] The permeability between the mythical and divine levels is evident even if erotic couples on this kylix are compared with human erotic couples on a cup on Madrid 10909: Rumpf 1927, pl. 44.
[278] Cf. the list of cups in Rumpf 1927, 35ff. nos. 243–278.
[279] Isler 1983, 21 and pl. 7, 3–5.
[280] Munich 2044: discussed on p. 171ff.
[281] Madrid 10909: Rumpf 1927 pl. 44.2 and 183.
[282] Leipzig (with no number) and Louvre F 144: Rumpf 1927, pls. 188–189.
[283] Stg. 172, discussed on p. 165ff.
[284] Leipzig: Rumpf 1927, pl. 188.

siren with a body in the shape of an eye on the contemporary kylix by the Amasis Painter[285]. So the combination of the eyes with the kantharos on the Chalcidian cups confirms our hypothesis that there is a connection, in the setting of the symposium, between the formula of the eyes and the mystery institution: especially if we remember that the place where this pottery was made is in Magna Grecia, the region that has provided the greatest amount of documentation on mysteries[286]. And it shows clearly that the observed way of using the cup at a symposium was not peculiar to Athens but a custom spread throughout Greece and, in view of the area where the most prized pieces were found[287], probably also Etruscan.

Conclusion

With the cups and the other symposial vases from the second half of the 6th century we are back in the setting of the symposium. The Dionysian repertoire coincides in part with the repertoire of the amphorae, but as a whole makes a more playful, more relaxed impression: it does not speak so much of heroes and memorable exploits nor of events that affect the proper working of the oikos. The polis counts for less: of more interest are things experienced by individuals and related emotions. In the foreground is the theme of sexuality in all its forms: hetero-, homo- and autoerotic. This does not constitute an innovation in respect of previous iconographic tradition. Instead, new and historically more relevant are figurative formulae and symbols that allude to mystery rituals, symptoms of a particular sensitivity for novel ritual experiences.

An argument that affects not only the strictly religious sphere but cultural interaction in general must have been the one concerning the eye: on seeing, on knowing by means of sight. It is not by chance that three cultural innovations emerged at the same time in Athens in the decade between 540 and 530 BCE: the eye cup, tragedy, and Bacchic initiations. Further on we will see, when connecting iconography with history, how plausible the last of the three is as well.

---

[285] Boston 10.651: discussed on p. 188f.

[286] Isler-Kerényi 1997c, 99.

[287] From Vulci come both the cup by Exekias Munich 2044 and the one with Phineus Würzburg 354.

The comparison with Samian pottery and especially with "Chalcidian" pottery, i.e. from Magna Grecia, has then allowed us to grasp the vanguard position of the Attic capital in this respect: but on the other hand it illustrates also how the cultural innovations mentioned, more evident here than elsewhere, belong to the general course of Greek culture and its reflection on Dionysos.

CHAPTER SIX

DIONYSOS IN ARCHAIC GREEK ART: A SUMMARY

We have now reached the end of our analysis of images on vases of the 7th and 6th centuries BCE which show Dionysos and the characters of his world. It will be useful to provide a summary of this analysis to relate it to what we know of Greek history, especially the history of Athens in the archaic period. There will be a brief reference to Dionysian iconography in red figure pottery and archaic sculpture, ending with some reflections on the new image of Dionysos proposed in this study.

A note on methodology

Having completed our study and before providing an outline of the course of Dionysian iconography and defining its crucial stages, it will be useful to consider the method followed. The most striking difference from studies of similar approach and scope published in recent years[1] lies in not having limited research to Attic material but of having extended it to contemporary pottery production in other centres. By this we have wished to lessen, as much as possible, the very strong tendency to focus on Athens not only in iconographic studies but also in those on Dionysos in general. In order to approach the meaning of Dionysos, in fact, it is necessary among other things, to become aware to what extent this god was common to the whole of Archaic Greek culture.

The limits of this research have been extended not only geographically: the central character has always been considered within his world, composed of male and female figures of varying status and differing roles, and also of certain animals such as for example

[1] For example: Carpenter 1986; Carpenter 1997; Moraw 1998. The same applies to shorter contributions, such as those by F. Lissarrague on satyrs and M.-C. Villanueva Puig on maenads. Rather than an iconographic study, Hamdorf 1986 surveys, in broad outlines, the image of Dionysos in art, ancient and subsequent.

the mule and dolphins. This choice follows the recognition that, in the period in question, written sources both on Dionysos and the cultural phenomena connected with him—like the institution of the symposium, the rituals and practices associated with wine-making, the internal systematisation of the polis—are few and scattered and so of very little help in understanding the pictorial evidence. It is necessary, therefore, to begin by extracting the maximum information possible from the pottery, always remaining careful not to confuse iconographical facts with ancient and modern images of Dionysos deduced from other types of sources.

At first sight this attitude and the methodological choices that derive from it can seem ingenuous: in fact, none of us will ever be able to leave our own time, our own culture with its peculiar mindset, or the tradition of our discipline. Objectivity does not exist, because the factual material data at the basis of research are the result of an interest determined by history and a particular choice. There is less objectivity than in other fields, inasmuch as problems of iconography are intertwined with those of religion and therefore with the intimate convictions of scholars of all periods[2]. In the case of Dionysos, then, over the ancient strata, made up of images and texts of various kinds and purposes, has been laid an out and out modern mythology from whose influence no-one can escape. Of course, it would have been useful to clarify how, when and why this modern mythology was formed *before* undertaking the present study. Exhaustive research on the history of Dionysian studies would have made this book too heavy and would have delayed its completion disproportionately. Fortunately, however, there has been no lack of occasions to attempt at least a first draft[3]: this has allowed us, as we will see, to explain the reason for the divergence between the interpretation of Dionysos proposed here and the traditional interpretation.

For the moment we will limit ourselves to recognising that the formation of a modern mythology of Dionysos is in any case a clear symptom of a particular deep interest, not only in him but also in the culture to which he belonged. To speak of Dionysos or his iconography means speaking of ancient culture and therefore of cultures in general: past, foreign, our own. But there are also more superficial

[2] McGinty 1978, 198.
[3] See the last chapter in this book.

reasons that have justified the experiment in this book: the possibility we now have, due especially to Beazley's work[4], of finding our way through the quantity of evidence, and of understanding even approximately what the relations were in time and therefore understanding the possible affiliations between the various classes of images.

Having delimited the type of figuration to include in our reflection, we have tried to organise it. In view of the reconstruction of an historical process, the chief criterion could only be chronology: with the risk of setting the argument in an uncertain zone, the period of the formation of iconography between the 7th and the start of the 6th century. Equally important has been the typological criterion. Dionysian figurations, like mythological figurations in general, are grouped into a specific and limited number of iconographic formulae, which in turn are closely linked with the shape of vases that are their bearers. Anyone with the slightest familiarity with Greek figured pottery knows from experience that the repertoire from which the painters drew was not distributed evenly over vases whether large or small, for individual or collective use, intended for the symposium or the home, as votive or funerary. Even if there were iconographical formulae used for decorating differing vases, the repertoires of the various shapes do not coincide. Scenes of girls at the fountain can appear on jugs and occasionally on kylikes: but the shape for which this kind of decoration was intended remains the hydria. While on the other hand, the most daring erotic scenes are peculiar to kylikes even if there are some, for example, on jugs. The shape, and therefore the practical and symbolic function, of the image-bearer can therefore uphold or contradict a particular reading. This essential consistency between support and decoration implies that the choice of a particular iconographic formula was conditioned also by the traditions of the workshop and in that setting was changing either gradually or on the initiative of individual decorators. This can help, as we have seen for example in the case of the Amasis Painter, to reconstruct more accurately the historical development of the iconography. We have then been aware, in the course of this study, how there has been a change, not only of iconographic formulae and repertoire but also of tone, from one shape to another:

[4] To be used, of course, with due common sense: Sparkes 1996, 11–13. For a fair evaluation of Beazley's work see also Hannestad 1996, 211–216.

as happens, similarly, in the poetry of various genres. In tonality, the cups become closer to the lyrical poetry of the symposium and communal containers are closer to 'official' genres such as choral odes and epic[5]. And this is the reason why it has seemed appropriate to arrange the material in ways other than by chronological classification.

However useful the double criterion of arrangement by chronology and by shape has proven to be, several times we have been faced with unique pieces: the François krater, the jug by Kolchos and Lydos, the cup by the Kallis Painter and the cup by Exekias. The phenomenon of unique pieces can occur for various reasons. For example it is easily possible that the vase which has reached us as unique had parallels or formed part of a series in historical reality: the ratio between known production and actual production must have been about 1% at most[6]. For every vase found we must in theory assume at least about 100 that have been lost. However, this does not solve the problem of interpretation, especially as reference to written mythological tradition, in the case of Dionysian iconography, proves to be less appropriate than in other types of image[7]. But considering the methods of production, we cannot exclude the occasional individual commission[8]. Whatever the case, a suitable interpretation must rest, in our opinion, on comparison with similar images on similar supports: that is, the isolated image must be inserted into a context that is historically and practically plausible. In this way we will never succeed in discovering for whom and for which occasion a unique piece—or a piece that is unique today—was intended. But we can at least determine the setting in which the message belonged and form an idea of the contribution of a single decorator to the existing tradition.

Dionysian iconography from the late 7th century to about 500 BCE

The classification of images according to the shapes of their supports adopted in this study makes a summary necessary that places chronological succession in the foreground through which we can

---

[5] Gentili 1995, passim.
[6] Bentz 1998, 17f.; Kratzmüller 2003.
[7] As set out in the introduction to this book.
[8] Examples listed in Webster 1972, 74ff.

connect the iconographic process with the course of history. In an initial phase that includes Greek pottery of the various regional workshops from the second half of the 7th century and comprises a restricted repertoire, the emphasis must fall on all the characters that would later prove to be the most important in the world of Dionysos: the wild satyr, the matronly woman together with the god himself, the grotesque dancers. The figures were not yet fixed in their canonical forms, so that doubts can remain about the identification of some of them. But already in this period of the formation of iconography it is clear that Dionysos was felt to be a god who was connected not only with the symposium or with wine but was also acting in other settings such as, for example, weddings and death, sacrifice, man's life and sexuality. Contrary to common opinion, which persists tenaciously in the area of iconography[9], Dionysos is in no sense a subordinate or secondary figure but belongs completely naturally in a cultural setting which has strong aristocratic connotations.

The figurative repertoire of the decades around 600 BCE is dominated everywhere in Greece by the animal frieze, whereas subjects of a mythological nature are still the exception. Up to the second quarter of the century, by far the most common human figure in this repertoire is the grotesque dancer. He is present in all the pottery made at that time and has significantly uniform characteristics throughout the Greek world. From his looks and way of moving he gives the impression of contrasting with the standard male typology and evokes the non-finite, the transitory, the paradoxical. However, his dance is clearly a group dance, which, then, follows certain rules. The dancer moves in a wild setting, is surrounded by vegetation and sometimes by animals: but even so he remains linked to the collective, and therefore regulated, consumption of wine. The extremely simplified artistic style of this phase of painting forbids any episodic or descriptive reading of the images. These are not scenes of the theatre or of rituals: their purpose on the vases, especially Corinthian unguent vases and then Attic cups, was certainly not to describe but clearly to evoke—on specific occasions when the support came into function—special phases of a man's life and the rituals that celebrated them.

---

[9] Carpenter 1986, 12 and passim; Carpenter 1997, 120: ". . . there is nothing inherently important about his human form and nothing inherently admirable about his human behaviour". On this approach see Isler-Kerényi 2000.

One fact to be noted is the emergence of the mule-rider, even in this very precocious phase of vase painting and outside Athens. Like the dancers, in whose circle he moves, it indicates the widespread presence of rituals connected with important events in the life of the community as early as about 600 BCE: the production and transportation of wine on the one hand, the incorporation of persons of lower status on the other.

With the enrichment and diversification of the figurative repertoire in pottery in the years after 580 BCE, the Dionysian world also became more varied, and the relationships between the mental levels evoked by the images become clearer: above the ritual level is the mythological level to which the rituals refer. Alongside grotesque dancers satyrs become more frequent, differentiated from them especially by their marked sexual features. They are of two types: the wild satyr, attacking women, and the tamed satyr who has symposial attributes and engages in an essentially peaceful relationship with female companions. This change of the satyr's role, which as yet does not affect his hybrid and semi-bestial aspect, takes place in the sphere of Dionysos and wine. In this same sphere there is a metamorphosis, evidently ritual in nature, of the dancer into a satyr[10]. In this setting, female typology is subordinate to male typology: we have the nymph, companion of the dancer and of the tamed satyr or else the victim of the wild satyr, and the matron-bride who belongs exclusively to the level of the god. The relevance of this figure lies in the connection that she establishes between the symposium and marriage.

The Dionysian iconography found on vases for individual use discussed so far allows us a glimpse of the role that Dionysos assumed on the human level and from the male point of view. Inherent to the concept of life made of successive phases, each marked by special images and actions, all of them important for the functioning of the social organism, are moments of transition, of individual and social metamorphosis[11]. It is at these moments that Dionysos, the god of metamorphosis, must have been active, as guarantor both of

---

[10] For Seaford 1994, 231 the metamorphosis of a citizen took place through "mystic initiation into the thiasos": in what follows we will see that the difference is only superficial.

[11] Cf. the comment by Henrichs 1982, 149: "But literary evidence, though scant, suggests that each age group served Dionysus in its own way".

a happy transition from one phase to another and of the temporary but unavoidable sojourn in the intermediate phase.

The intervention of a god in human life could only take place in a ritual setting, that is, in the course of celebrations such as the great festivals of the polis. But in ancient culture the sphere of the sacred was not the antithesis of the profane: ritual settings were not only the public and official occasions of the great festivals but, for example, also the semi-domestic setting of the symposium, run by individuals even if an occasion for generally accepted rituals. The symposium, which among other things allowed sexuality to be lived in playful, 'useless' forms, had to be the appropriate setting for celebrating or remembering Dionysian moments such as those proposed. In these moments both wine and dance could acquire a meaning, or a double meaning, which ennobled them in a ritual sense: wine as a means of being transported mentally to a different and exceptional state as compared to daily life, dance as a way of expressing physically the euphoric state of suspension between two modes of being.

The usefulness of ritualising transitions that could potentially be traumatic for the individual and risky for the community is obvious. On the other hand, we are in a period of history when the existence of an organised society and the regulated function of public life were not obvious, as shown by the prestige great legislators such as, for example, Lycurgus in Sparta and Solon in Athens enjoyed centuries later. It is normal that the polis was considered a special setting in the cosmos as a whole, opposed to whatever was excluded from it, namely the wild and dangerous life of nature. Of course, individual rites of passage or celebrations that remembered such passages presuppose this, so to say, cosmic dimension of the life of the individual. This is why we have hypothesised that the stay in the phase intermediate between the two ages and the two social images is shaped—always in the mind—as a relapse into a pre-civilised condition in which a satyr could be the appropriate mythical model: the tamed satyr in a positive sense, the wild satyr in a negative sense. We have pointed out that the ritual performances were meant to reproduce temporal developments: to become a satyr, then, meant being transferred to a moment in which, always in the sign of Dionysos, the whole world was in a pre-civilised state.

It is not surprising to see this cosmic dimension of Dionysos evoked on great vases for collective use, such as the dinoi by Sophilos and

Lydos and the François krater. Whether it is on the occasion of the wedding of Thetis and Peleus, the Return of Hephaistos to Olympus, or of the Gigantomachy, Dionysos always tends to strengthen the cosmic order personified by Zeus. His is essentially the action of a mediator and of a peacemaker in extremely critical situations of conflict in which the equilibrium of the world runs the risk of being upset.

The years between 580 and 570 BCE seem crucial for Dionysian iconography, but in fact they are for all pottery production and not just Attic vases. Indeed, pieces such as the dinos by Sophilos are a good illustration of the level of aesthetic and technical perfection reached by Athenian potters which would lead them, in a single generation, to a dominant position in foreign trade, especially with the wealthy Etruscan market. From this moment onwards we see the Dionysian repertoire of cups and kraters as well as of amphorae develop and become richer. In the years around 560 BCE, while Attic pottery increased its production noticeably, a new iconographic formula was introduced, well attested in the work of Lydos and with lasting success until the end of the 5th century: the thiasos. The thiasos evokes essentially the same situation on the mythological level as evoked ritually by the grotesque dance: the metamorphosis, effected by Dionysos, of the participants in the symposium into hybrid beings belonging to the world not of culture but of nature, their escape. But the figure of the satyr, rather than of the clownish dancer, allows the painter to emphasise the explicitly sexual meaning of the escape and, at the same time, to give him a mythological dimension. In this perspective, the world of Dionysos cannot do without the satyrs and nothing justifies the hypothesis that their mutual bond was secondary[12].

More important and even more significant innovations appear in the Dionysian repertoire in the years between 540 and 530, with the invention of the eye cup by Exekias and the evocation of ephebic rituals and the ritual roles of female Dionysian dancers by the Amasis Painter. Simultaneously, in pottery, by nature intended for the symposium and therefore the male world, a special relationship is marked out between Dionysos and the female sphere, which allows us a glimpse of its importance beyond the setting of the symposium, wine and male sexuality.

---

[12] As, together with many others, Hedreen 1992, 71, for example, states.

Iconography and history

At this point we may ask how and to what extent iconography, with its fluctuations and crucial phases, can be related to historical reality, especially the historical reality of Athens. But before doing so, the problem of chronology has to be clarified. The dates given in this study are, essentially, stylistic and conventional. These stylistic dates have been identified on the basis of two complementary criteria: on the one hand we have some historical dates to which can be connected certain styles of pottery, such as for example the foundation of Greek colonies in the west, the institution of the Panathenaic Games in 566 BCE, etc. On the other hand, we can base ourselves on a fairly consistent stylistic development in this phase of the history of art[13]. This means, for example, that we can calculate the stylistic position of a vase through a comparison with other vases, thus setting it between the oldest known Panathenaic amphora and the frieze of the Siphnian treasury in Delphi, dated for historical reasons to the years immediately before 525 BCE, and contemporary with the introduction of the new red figure style. In this way, and with the support of attributions to the individual hands of painters of a large number of 6th century vases by Beazley, it has been possible to reconstruct a reasonably fine stylistic grid that fits the historical frame well enough. Certainly, it cannot be excluded that one or other of the historical links can turn out to be less solid than originally appeared[14]: but the system as a whole, which in essence we owe to Langlotz[15], has in the meantime received too many confirmations to be disturbed significantly[16]. The stylistic dates used in this study can therefore be considered to be quite close to the actual dates.

However, there is another difficulty in the attempt to connect iconography with history: the great scarcity of events and definite historical dates for the 6th century[17]. Even so, there are some fairly

[13] Boardman 1988, 193–195.

[14] For example, see the dates of Leagros, praised by the painters when he was an ephebe, who died as a strategе during one of the Thracian campaigns of Athens in the second half of the 5th century: Parker 1994.

[15] Langlotz 1920.

[16] As proposed by Francis and Vickers in 1981. The terms of this famous controversy are summarised in Boardman 1988. See also Sparkes 1996, 145–151 and Williams 1996.

[17] Shapiro 1989, 1: "Written accounts of Athenian history in the sixth century are extremely meagre". In the meantime the situation has not changed: Ehrhardt 1992; Raaflaub 1996, 1071f.; Brandt 1997, 315.

certain facts about the history of Athens which are illuminating when compared with Dionysian iconography. First of all, the figure of Solon[18] whose reforms are dated either to about 594/3 or the decade 580–570[19], and secondly the figure of Peisistratos who assumed power in Athens for the first time in about 560 BCE and governed Attica continuously from 546/5 until his death in 528/7. His sons ruled until 511/10 BCE[20].

The discussion by historians on the exact contents of Solon's reforms and on the practical provisions that derived from them is anything but concluded. But their cardinal concepts and purposes can be defined with sufficient clarity and reliability[21]. The general tendency, which also affects the religious sector, must have been to extend the base of polis institutions[22], strengthening the oikos socially and economically[23]. From this arrangement into oikoi and from the idea of guaranteeing their correct number for the polis and its continuity[24] are derived the regulations on legitimate children and the rights of property and inheritance. The image of the symposium is subordinate to Solon's idea of the oikos of which it is a metaphor, a symbolic representation[25]. Also typical of Solon's work are the measures understood to confer social dignity on craftsmen alongside land ownership[26]. As we have seen[27], the figure of Hephaistos fits extremely well into this framework. These and other innovations implicitly limited the prerogatives of the aristocracy and were potentially destabilising: from a noble family himself, one of Solon's overriding concerns

---

[18] Cf. even the sceptical Ehrhardt 1992, 16: „Am Beginn der athenischen Geschichte steht Solon. Seine Tätigkeit ist, so paradox es klingt, erheblich besser bezeugt als die der meisten athenischen Politiker der Folgezeit . . .".

[19] On this point the argument of Raaflaub 1996, 1052f. seems more convincing to me. A much more sceptical position, due to what I consider an over negative evaluation of the historical trustworthiness of oral tradition, is that of Ehrhardt 1992, 14.

[20] Kolb 1977, 99; Shapiro 1989, 2f.; Raaflaub 1996, 1073.

[21] Brook Manville 1990, 124–156; Raaflaub 1996, 1058–1071; Osborne 1996, 220–226.

[22] Parker 1996, 48: "From the few fragments, no pattern emerges. It has, indeed, been argued strongly that in religion as in politics Solon sought to limit aristocratic influence . . .".

[23] Brook Manville 1990, 129ff.; Raaflaub 1996, 1069.

[24] Seaford 1994, 209.

[25] Murray 1987, 120f.

[26] Pagliara 1966, 6f.; Brook Manville 1990, 155; Raaflaub 1996, 1062f.

[27] See p. 89ff.

was not to upset the previous political order[28] while clearly defining the internal limits of the system[29]. This is reflected perfectly in the cosmological role of stabiliser and peacemaker attributed to Dionysos by the painters of the first half of the century—from Sophilos to Lydos—who have represented Dionysos among the gods on various occasions: the wedding of Thetis and Peleus, the Return of Hephaistos, the Gigantomachy, the fight between Herakles and Kyknos[30].

Neither Hephaistos nor Dionysos is an exclusively Athenian god, belonging instead to the common patrimony of the Greek world starting at the latest with Homer. It is therefore symptomatic that it was specifically the painters of Athens who gave these two figures special importance in their own repertoire. In fact, we have seen that Attic images of the Dionysian world do not only place them on the scene but also transmit traces of a reflection and, certainly, traces of a discussion on their role and relations. Included in this reflection are satyrs and others who belong to the retinue of Hephaistos, but are above all creatures of the Dionysian world inasmuch as they embody the antithesis, which at the same time is a transition, between nature and culture.

Even before Solon, Dionysos was given political importance[31]: but the new figurative style and the use at that time of pottery chiefly for the symposium encouraged more detailed representations both of him and the myths in which he is involved. Dionysian iconography is, then, an efficient illustration of the way in which mythology was used in historical reality: certain episodes of it were chosen, preference was given to certain characters, suitable models were looked for in the tradition for an actual situation (always taking into account also the practical purpose of the image-bearer). These were processes of actualisation and involvement of the public, but a far cry from the propagandistic abuse for political ends in times closer to our own[32]; processes that, above all, did not impair the religious aura of

[28] Raaflaub 1996, 1068: "Equilibrium and integration were therefore the hallmarks of Solon's operation . . ."; 1069: ". . . his ideal was far from being 'democratic' and, in reality, was somewhat conservative".

[29] Brook Manville 1990, 126: ". . . a general theme in all of Solon's reforms was the creation of boundaries—spatial, legal, and even psychological".

[30] Cf. Seaford 1994, 246: "Dionysos is a god who, according to Diodorus, creates concord in place of civil strife".

[31] Kolb 1977, 121.

[32] For a useful discussion of these phenomena see Brandt 1977.

the image of the gods but made clear their efficacy both for the individual and for the community.

The generally accepted opinion on Peisistratos is that essentially he continued on from Solon even if, making shrewd use of the situation, he succeeded in asserting himself more than his due[33]. Up to 560, in harmony with the symposial use of the pottery, the male viewpoint clearly prevails in Dionysian iconography but after that date and especially on amphorae, it shows a growing interest in the female world and its mythical prototypes Ariadne and Semele. Chronologically, then, we are at least a generation away from Solon's organisation of the polis, which, as have said, was conceived of as a balanced ensemble of oikoi[34]. Every member of the oikos and therefore of the polis had his or her role and image depending on, for example, gender, social class, and age group. This last category was of course the most problematic as it was variable: in fact it required agreed modes for the transition from one age group to another: according to our hypothesis Dionysian rituals were required. The system could function without difficulty for the male section of the population: but it became precarious for the female sector because the social role of women was not given only by nobility of birth and by age. In a female's life there was more than one moment when her status was redefined: for example at the moment we have called "at the fountain"[35], or childbirth. The intervention of Dionysos became crucial for the individual woman as well as for the oikos to which she belonged and for the polis.

The course of iconography suggests that the problem of defining and redefining female status became more and more acute in the years of Peisistratos[36]: during this phase two new types of woman entered the scene with an autonomous relationship, that is outside the symposial setting, with Dionysos[37]. A possible solution seems to have been, as can be deduced from a new reading of the cup by

---

[33] Kolb 1977, 136; Shapiro 1989, 165; Brook Manville 1990, 212; Raaflaub 1996, 1080. See also Angiolillo 1997, 142, who considers, as we do, Dionysos "an emblematic figure in the unifying and pacifying politics of Peisistratos". On other points, instead, our opinions diverge, as we mention on p. 45f. and 146f. in respect of Ikarios.

[34] Lacey 1983, 68ff.

[35] See p. 86f.

[36] On the position of women in the *polis* cf. the similar thesis of Seaford 1994, 208f.

[37] Chapter 4.

the Kallis Painter in Naples[38], the institution of Bacchic mysteries which provided women with a similar opportunity that the symposium did of ritualising—of celebrating and remembering—changes of status and the related crises[39]. In this mystery process the goal was, as revealed by the inscribed lamellae, the meeting with the deities ruling over the world of the dead, Hades and Persephone[40]. Instead, according to our reading of the Naples cup[41], Semele must have had the role of a protomystes, like Herakles in Eleusis. Thus the task of Dionysos was to support the initiate and intercede for her[42].

A sentence in Pausanias[43], usually only connected with Orphism even though Dionysos is expressly mentioned[44], supports this hypothesis: Onomacritus (who had been active in the court of Peisistratos, as we know) would also have instituted orgia, that is mystery celebrations. Until very recently, these mysteries were considered to be Orphic, that is attributed not to the official religion of the polis but to a kind of sect. Instead, discoveries in recent years confirm hypotheses that have been proposed previously[45] on the essential identity between the so-called Orphic mysteries and Bacchic mysteries[46]. The action of Onomacritus refers, then, to Bacchic mysteries. From this we can draw two important consequences. Not only can we consider as proven the interpretation proposed here that the innovations introduced into Dionysian iconography around 540 BCE are a reflection of essential cultic innovations[47]. But also, contrary to common

---

[38] Naples Stg.172: discussed on p. 165ff.

[39] On the meaning of female *thiasoi* in the perspective of the *polis* see Seaford 1994, 310f.; Parker 1996, 80: "It is a commonplace that Greek women enjoyed a kind of 'cultic citizenship', which granted them at a different level the recognition that they were denied in the political sphere".

[40] Gavrilaki/Tzifopoulos 1998, 348ff.

[41] Naples Stg.172: discussed on p. 165ff.

[42] If the comparison with a vase painting that is two centuries older is permitted, Gavrilaki/Tzifopoulos 1998, 353f.

[43] Pausanias 8, 37, 5, where the author speaks of the Titans in connection with the Arcadian sanctuary of Despoina.

[44] Shapiro 1989, 87.

[45] For example by Kerényi 1996, 32 (a work that goes back to 1950).

[46] Burkert 1993, 259: "Thus the whole corpus of these remarkable documents (i.e. the gold lamellae traditionally considered to be Orphic, analysed by F. Graf in the same volume) can now finally be attributed to Bacchic mysteries". Cf. also Dickie 1995, 83: ". . . it is now clear that there are no discrete mystery-cults for, on the one hand, Persephone, and on the other, Dionysos, but that both deities have different roles to play within the same cult."

[47] Stähli 1999, 195f. is of the same opinion.

opinion which considers the mysteries to be a phenomenon on the 'periphery' of the Greek world[48], Athens is seen as taking on the role of vanguard and the centre of diffusion in the history of Bacchic mysteries[49].

But even prescinding from the individual images that can refer more peculiarly to Bacchic mysteries, we have indicated how, in the Dionysian repertoire from the age of Peisistratos—especially on the amphorae by the Amasis Painter and the Affecter—there was a considerable increase in ritual notations such as wreaths, sprigs, the very way the characters move: an obvious symptom of renewed attention to the cultic sphere. This attention by Peisistratos—or rather, by the Athenian public in the times of Peisistratos—is well established also by other sources[50]: Dionysos and his festivals occupy anything but a secondary rank, indicated by the introduction of Dionysos Eleuthereus and the institution of the Great Dionysia, which, from 536 BCE, included tragic plays[51].

The relationship between the figure of the satyr and the sphere of mystery remains to be explained. To become a satyr meant falling back into a wild condition, by definition earlier than belonging to the polis with all its limitations and rules. To be a satyr, then, meant to be happy. The most suitable setting for happiness was the symposium: a place of escape, or provisional suspension from the regulation of daily life[52]. The permissiveness of the symposium in political argument is known, well documented by written sources and attested by the literary genres connected with the symposium[53]. The symposium could take place on more than one level: on the level of real life—although this was not equivalent to daily life—but also as a mystery experience. Analysis of the texts relating to Bacchic initiations has clearly shown that wine and the symposium were used as

---

[48] Graf 1997, 324f.

[49] An hypothesis now outlined also by Gavrilaki/Tzifopoulos 1998, 354: ". . . although in terms of their use all these inscribed gold lamellae from Macedonia, Thessaly, Elis, Crete, Magna Grecia, the periphery, we may say, of the Hellenic world . . . show correspondences too remarkable to be merely coincidental . . .".

[50] Kolb 1977, 115–135; Shapiro 1989, 84–100; Raaflaub 1996, 1079; Seaford 1994, 235–279; Angiolillo 1997, 142–9.

[51] Parker 1996, 92ff. instead is more sceptical about dating these innovations to the Peisitratean age.

[52] Stähli 1999, 173f.

[53] Fabian/Pellizzer/Tedeschi 1991.

metaphors for the happy conclusion of the mystery course[54]. The interpretations of the satyr in Seaford and this study[55] are therefore only different on the surface. One became a satyr in the symposium and also in the mystery thiasos, the final act of which was in fact the symposium. As a result the Bacchic initiate relived his mystery experience in the symposium of 'normal' life. The satyr in images on vases can therefore evoke more than one reading: symposial happiness that consists among other things of living freely one's own sexuality but also of reaching a mystery goal and finally the happy state of mythical beginnings. Each of these evocations alone can give meaning to the image of a satyr: none excludes the others but can, indeed, reflect them metaphorically.

This Dionysian happiness was absolutely incompatible with a subordinate or marginal condition: this is why, like the symposium, the Bacchic orgia, wherever they were celebrated, did not have a plebeian but an aristocratic connotation[56], valid, as we have seen, for the Dionysian world in general and especially for its divine protagonist.

Dionysian iconography in the first half of the 5th century BCE

After the Peisistratean phase, the Athenian religious system was well established even as it continued to feel the effects of general historical events, such as the institutional innovations of Kleisthenes and the great wars of the 5th century[57]. The Dionysian iconography of red figure pottery has yet to be studied from both a typological and an historical perspective based on a representative selection of material[58]. Above all it would be useful to compare it with that of late black figure, certainly intended for a different public. By far the most important subject in terms of number occurring both on amphorae

---

[54] Graf 1993, 246: "Still, we can take the line as reference to the symposium as the final form of existence: the dead continue what was their most intense and enjoyable experience during life".

[55] See n. 10 above.

[56] Graf 1993, 256: "Contrary to the complaints of ancient opponents to the cult of Dionysus, from Euripides' Pentheus to Rome's Livy, the Bacchic mysteries were no lower-class affair . . .".

[57] Parker 1996, chapters 7–9.

[58] The most useful survey is in Gasparri 1986, 503ff.; instead, Carpenter 1997 practically excludes the formula of the *thiasos* itself from his study. In Osborne 1997, 196–211 and Moraw 1998 the selection is limited to females, in Stähli 1999, 161–201, to the relationship between satyrs and nymphs or maenads.

and on kylikes is the thiasos in all its variants: with and without Dionysos, with "maenads" alone or satyrs alone or a mix. The satyrs, often the only subject on cups, continue to prevail numerically over their companions: which is always explained by the destination of the pottery, which is the symposium[59]. Recurring more often than in the 6th century are the mules or asses that take part without a specific role, in purely playful mode, in the thiasos in vase images from Oltos and Epiktetos up to Hermonax. The mule-rider continues to be not only Hephaistos but sometimes also Dionysos himself or a satyr[60]. By now the grotesque dancers appear only sporadically and are replaced by the komos, a formula that expresses the symposiasts moving from one place to another rather than the ritual dance.

Between the end of the 6th century and the first half of the 5th century, images of the Gigantomachy of Dionysos[61] became more frequent, which emphasises his role of supporting the existing order especially during the Persian wars, imminent and ongoing. Among the figurations of a ritual nature, the most common show the god in front of a woman who is not a maenad but composed and dignified, in one case called Nymphaia[62]: which confirms the presence of Dionysos in a female setting that is not a symposium. Of interest in the perspective of the 6th century is a kylix by the Triptolemos Painter which seems to echo the motif of Dionysos among ephebes by the Amasis Painter, tentatively but plausibly interpreted as an evocation of a rite of passage celebrated during the Apaturia[63].

The evocations of myths of Dionysos—his birth, his being entrusted to the Nymphs, and his meeting with Ariadne—began in the second quarter of the 5th century but, as a whole, remained sporadic. A group of contemporary and particularly accurate images seem to refer, instead, to Dionysian rituals connected with infancy rather than to the mythology of baby Dionysos[64]. The most popular myth of the Dionysian repertoire is the Return of Hephaistos. However, there are new images of Dionysian mythology with other protagonists, such as Pentheus, Orpheus, Lycurgus, probably due to the topical interest

---

[59] Stähli 1999, 175–185.

[60] Bron 1989.

[61] Carpenter 1997, 15–34. The interpretation of them as parody is not convincing: Isler-Kerényi 2000.

[62] London E 350: Beazley Addenda 204 (256.2); Moraw 1998, no. 286.

[63] Louvre G 138: Knauer 1996, 233f.; instead, Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 265f., given its theatrical perspective, proposes an association with the dithyrambic chorus.

[64] LIMC III.2, Dionysos 701, 702, 703, 705.

given to the subjects by stage tragedies: it would be useful to understand why some of these tragic themes were adopted by the vase painters whereas others were not. A new motif—in black figure we come across it only once in the work of the Amasis Painter—is the young or even baby satyr[65], followed in about 470 BCE by the old satyr, that is the silen, perhaps inspired by satyr plays[66]. The different ages of the satyrs confirm the hypothesis set out here that one became a satyr not only in the pubertal transition but in all the passages between the age-groups, before and after the ephebic phase.

In the 5th as in the 6th century, the preference for the Dionysian world and the choice of subjects seem at least in part due to the taste of individual painters or to workshop traditions[67] and the demands of the market[68]: in this field, which is undoubtedly promising, there is still a great deal to be done. However, the impression is made that the iconographical parameters established in the 6th century would remain valid: the image of Dionysos and the characters of his world would not be substantially changed.

Dionysian figurations in archaic Greek sculpture

The comparison with Dionysian figurations in 6th century sculpture can also be used to verify the readings proposed in this study. An exhaustive analysis will not be attempted: we will discuss only works of particular interest for their rather high date, or because they are not Attic, or for their iconographic formula. Therefore, we will leave aside specially the best known works: the headless statue of Dionysos seated in Athens dated to about 520 BCE[69], the famous monumental mask in marble from Ikaria of about 520 BCE[70] and the Gigantomachy from the Siphnian treasury in Delphi[71].

---

[65] For example: LIMC III.1, Silenoi 46a; LIMC III.2, Dionysos 848; Beazley Addenda 315 (1019.82).

[66] Stähli 1999, 197.

[67] Isler-Kerényi 1987.

[68] The so-called Lenaia images seem for example directed towards Etruria and Etruscan Campania: Isler-Kerényi 1997c, 99f.

[69] Boardman 1978, 86 with fig. 162; LIMC III.2, Dionysos 135.

[70] Boardman 1978, 87 with fig. 170; LIMC III.2, Dionysos 6. Instead, the similar mask of Marathon (Boardman 1978, fig. 171), as indicated clearly by the holes in the forehead intended for inserting horns, represents Acheloos, the god of water: LIMC I, Acheloos 80.

[71] LIMC III.2, Dionysos 651 and IV.2, Gigantes 2, mentioned on p. 97.

Fig. 128

We begin in chronological order with the *pediment of a not very large temple on Corfu*[72] of which only the left half is preserved. The cup, clearly of the Siana type, which the youthful figure is holding in his hand, indicates the second quarter of the 6th century as a possible date[73]. It is an image of a symposium with a male couple, reclining on the same kline, appearing to look attentively at what is happening in the missing right-hand half of the pediment. Cremer's hypothesis is that the couple represents Dionysos with his son Oinopion intent on observing Hephaistos, by now inebriated, who is attempting to stand up from his own kline before being accompanied up to Olympus. The reading of at least the bearded symposiast as Dionysos is plausible because the pediment of a temple would by nature be mythological rather than anonymous or polyvalent: but it is made uncertain because all the iconographical comparisons are with far more recent vase paintings. The only one that is chronologically close, the symposium on the amphora by Lydos in Florence[74], is not applicable as it is not mythological. It is possible that the pediment belonged to a temple of Dionysos in Corfu mentioned by Thucydides[75].

Whatever the scenic contest may have been, two facts are noteworthy: the subject is in a location that culturally gravitates towards Corinth and is the theme of a public monumental sculpture. The iconographical situation—and that is the enormous frequency of the subject in vase painting and its almost complete absence from other arts—could in fact indicate that Dionysos the symposiast was considered to be a god only of wine and the symposium[76]. Here in contrast, he is found at the centre of a temple pediment with the dignity of a polis god, and thus also outside Athens in agreement with deductions from non-figurative evidence[77]. From an aesthetic point of view

---

[72] Boardman 1978, 157 with fig. 207a; Cremer 1981; LIMC III.2, Dionysos 370.

[73] This proposal is based on a photograph and a postcard. Cremer 1981 does not commit himself, Boardman considers it late 6th century: Boardman 1978, fig. 207a.

[74] Florence 70995: discussed on p. 126.

[75] Thuk. 3.81.5: Cremer 1981, 320 with n. 18.

[76] Cf. Carpenter 1997, 122: "Before the last quarter of the fifth century the Dionysos on vases is preminently a wine god".

[77] Kolb 1977, 132: "Die Bedeutung des Dionysoskultes in Athen . . . (hat) folglich ihre eigentliche Voraussetzung . . . in der Tatsache, dass dem Dionysoskult eine zentrale Stellung im politischen Leben des archaischen Gemeinwesens zukam . . .". Dionysos is also a *polis* god for Seaford 1994, xviii: ". . . Dionysos, whose 'otherness' and ambiguity, celebrated in modern theory as ahistorical principles, can in fact be seen to have a specific value in the struggle to create the polis . . ." and *in extenso*, 238–275.

it must be admitted that the motif of reclining persons would be more suitable for a pediment picture without the klinai which restricts the symposiasts to a space that is too low: it is perhaps one reason why it would no longer be used in monumental sculpture. The persons in the horizontal position on later pediments—for example in the temples of Aphaia in Aegina and Zeus in Olympia—rest instead on the base of the frame.

The best known archaic figuration of Dionysos besides the painted versions is certainly the *statue that lies incomplete in a marble cave on Naxos*[78]. It is a colossus over 10 metres high that must have represented the god standing, dressed in a chiton and himation, with a kantharos in his right hand[79]. As the figure is only rough-hewn, dating is difficult. However Gruben's historical considerations are plausible—namely that the project of such a megalomaniac work would have hardly been likely after the fall of the tyrant of Naxos—and therefore the statue can be dated at the latest to the third quarter of the 6th century. As a destination the important sanctuary of Dionysos at Yria, discovered only a few years ago, has been proposed[80]. It contained a cult statue at least partly made of ivory[81] of which the colossus could be a copy on a larger scale. For us this figure is of interest because it confirms the privileged iconographic link between Athens and the Cyclades, proved in respect of the Cycladic vase with the oldest image of Dionysos[82]. In addition it is one more indication of the importance of his cult outside Athens. *Fig. 129*

The third example is *a limestone relief on a small pediment* of which only the left half is preserved, found near the theatre of Dionysos in Athens in 1876[83] with the figuration of a thiasos in which three participants can be distinguished. They are: an ithyphallic satyr dancing while playing the double aulós; a nymph dressed in a short chiton dancing in front of him; followed on the right by a second ithyphallic satyr dancing, and turned towards the centre of the pediment. On the left edge of the fragment there is an object interpreted as the thyrsos of another nymph[84]. The iconographic formula *Fig. 130*

[78] LIMC III.1, 431 Dionysos 87; Gruben 1997, 293–300 and 414–416.
[79] Gruben 1997, 299 n. 83.
[80] Gruben 1996.
[81] Gruben 1997, 300 fig. a.
[82] Melos, Archaeological Museum, discussed on p. 7f.
[83] Athens 3131: Boardman 1978, 155 and fig.201; Themelis 1992, 56 with n. 16; LIMC VIII.2, Silenoi 201.
[84] Heberdey 1919, 77.

corresponds to the formula attested in contemporary vase painting. It has been suggested that in the left half there was either Dionysos or else, but not without questions on space, the Return of Hephaistos. The attribution of the pediment to the temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus remains completely hypothetical even though it is in harmony with the date proposed by Boardman (540–530 BCE), that is, to the age of Peisistratos and the Amasis Painter.

Of greater interest because its context is known, is a relief that *Fig. 131* adorns the *polos of a caryatid of the Siphnian treasury in Delphi*[85], correctly dated therefore to the years between 530 and 525 BCE. The figuration is composed of two parts. The part behind shows a thiasos of three satyrs and two nymphs finished on the left by a krater, in a composition that is similar to the formulae used by contemporary vase painters. On the badly preserved front part a cult scene can be reconstructed in which women are officiating around an object perhaps to be interpreted as a mask of Dionysos lying in a kalathos in front of a small pillar like the idol present in so-called Lenaia vase paintings.

Themelis plausibly proposes connecting this image with the Delphic cult of Dionysos Liknites[86]. Similarities with Lenaia images, intended chiefly for the western market[87], show that similar female Dionysian rites were generally widespread before the 5th century and were not peculiar to Athens. We may ask whether they are a reflex of a generally Greek development or whether instead they were spread quickly from a centre such as Athens, where Bacchic orgia were established by Onomacritus in the Peisistratean age[88]. The difficulty—and the need—to include women in the social body must in any case have been felt elsewhere, even if in differing degrees. The fact that this figuration is combined with the caryatid becomes symptomatic in light of the explanation proposed here for the institution of rites directed particularly to the female world[89]. The caryatid is a kore of ideal beauty and elegance, but subordinated to a "system" of which at the same time it is an inalienable support[90]: which corresponds

[85] Themelis 1992; LIMC VIII.2, Silenoi 202.
[86] Themelis 1992, 72.
[87] Isler-Kerényi 1997c, 99f.
[88] See n. 43 above.
[89] Which also applies to the explanation by Seaford 1992, 310f.
[90] The paradox is expressed in even cruder ways when, in 4th century Sicily, the caryatids are maenads supporting an architrave with their own arms: Isler-Kerényi 1976.

exactly to the position of a woman within the polis. The combination of the caryatid and the thiasos is, then, totally consistent because there is nothing better to balance that position than the thiasos and female rituals, the only escape allowed to women by the system.

This series closes with a large relief that adorned one of the *entrances to the city wall of Thasos*[91]. It contains the monumental figure of a satyr, naked except for his boots, moving composedly towards the right with a large kantharos in his right hand and with his left extended. In front of him, smaller in size, can be seen the remains of a niche for votive offerings. The date is around or shortly after 500 BCE[92]. *Fig. 132*

The relief decoration of the sides of the city gates was a speciality of Thasos, attributed by Picard to the strong cultural influences of the Middle East to which this city was exposed. Among the deities who, as guards, were certainly considered the tutelary gods of the polis, Dionysos is the most important: mentioned together with his half-brother in an epigraph pertaining to the gate called "of Herakles and Dionysos", protected by a very beautiful and well-known relief of Herakles as an archer (facing outwards!). The same hero in the same pose is the emblem on the coins of Thasos issued between 411 and 390 BCE: under the drawn bow is placed a large kantharos, a symbol of Dionysos. Another relief, now lost, depicted Dionysos with a large vine branch and a female thiasos following him[93]. On a third relief slightly later than the one with the satyr, from the gate named after Semele, a procession of four figures entering the city can be seen, the interpretation of which remains uncertain[94].

Picard emphasises the "exceptional monumentality"[95] of the satyr which, in view of the votive niche, was the object of worship: in fact it is over two and a half metres high. But it is more impressive, in spite of its poor state of preservation, for the dignity and elegance with which it proceeds towards the city: "It proceeds as a visitor, with a marching movement, his foot lifted, entering the city

---

[91] Picard 1962, 85ff.; Boardman 1978, 161 and fig. 223; LIMC VIII.2, Silenoi 203.

[92] Picard 1962, 41: „peu après 500"; Boardman 1978, 161 and fig. 223: "About 500".

[93] Picard 1962, 69 fig. 22: but it is not clear whether the god is entering the city (as is probable) or leaving it.

[94] Picard 1962, 136ff. The closest parallel, in our view, is the group of chracaters on the kylix by Xenokles London 1867.5–8.1007 (B 425), discussed on p. 160f.

[95] Picard 1962, 85.

joyfully and peacefully"[96]. Both the kantharos, held like the one Dionysos has on the cup by the Kallis Painter[97], and the gesture of the left hand, in welcome according to Picard[98], are illuminating if the topographic situation of the relief is considered. The gate of the silen was in fact the easternmost of the three leading to the necropolis of Thasos, in a sector that the excavator considers to be reserved for the initiated[99]. The iconographic evidence shows that the heroic and therefore mystery significance of the kantharos is neither new nor exceptional: it is sufficient to think of the first figuration of Dionysos on the large 7th century Cycladic vase which began the series studied here[100]. The satyr of Thasos confirms, then, the interpretation proposed here as a mythical model for whoever passes from "outside" the polis to "inside", from normal status to being a Bacchic initiate: that is, for whoever has experienced the death inherent in any metamorphosis.

At the close of our iconographic analysis, the kantharos of the satyr of Thasos allows us to return to our starting-point. In addition it provides an opportunity to consider briefly the production of sculptures in a region further away from Athens, at least in terms of culture: Laconia. The presence of Bacchic rituals with women officiating is well attested by Pausanias[101]. One of the strangest and most discussed expressions of Laconian art is the series of so-called *Laconian Hero reliefs* which began in about 540 BCE[102]. The recurrent pattern shows a hieratic looking couple seated on a throne under which is an enormous snake. The male often exhibits a large kantharos. In front of the group smaller worshipping figures can be seen. These reliefs were placed on grave mounds, which were provided with altars around which votive pottery intended for the deceased was usually placed[103]. The most disputed question is whether this person with the kantharos is Dionysos or the hero—i.e. the deceased—whose tomb it was. After a laborious discussion, with arguments that are

Fig. 133

[96] Picard 1962, 91.
[97] See p. 167.
[98] Picard 1962, 87.
[99] Picard 1962, 87f.
[100] Melos, Archaeological Museum: discussed on p. 7f. The meaning of the kantharos in this figuration has been examined in Isler-Kerényi 1990b, 45f.
[101] 3, 20, 3: Stibbe 1996, 59.
[102] Stibbe 1996, 225 (Berlin 731).
[103] Stibbe 1996, 233.

partly obsolete, but which ultimately cancel each other out[104], Stibbe reaches the only conclusion possible: that the figure is a god. But at the same time, the dead hero is honoured in these divine features. Now that he has died, he identifies himself with the deity[105]. Therefore, in Laconia Dionysos was ascribed a role and an image identical to those he had in Thasos, Delphi, the Cyclades, Magna Grecia and Athens.

Conclusion: Dionysos reconsidered

At the close of this book a Dionysos has been outlined who is new in many aspects but in fact is in harmony with the god, who, starting with Privitera's book and then especially from Kolb's analysis, emerges ever more clearly from Classical studies in recent years[106]. His main characteristic is to be a god of the polis in the wider and deeper sense of the term. For almost two centuries, and recently, this characteristic of Dionysos has remained in shadow, and it has been repeated constantly that he was the god most alien to the polis[107]. In fact this claim belongs to modern mythology in respect of the god of wine. The best known modern myth, deeply rooted in the history of study beginning with Winckelmann, is the fundamental antithesis between Apollo and Dionysos[108]. This antithesis wished to attribute to Apollo all the connotations that gave him affinity with the Enlightenment, ascetic Protestantism and then Rationalism; on the side dominated by Dionysos, in contrast, everything was placed that appeared to be irrational, chaotic and subversive. The polis represented order and civilised life and was, by definition, Apollinian, whereas the wild, disorder, otherness appeared as Dionysian. This antithetic, one-sided view has prevailed even though it does not explain the central and very evident role of Dionysos in the system of festivals related to the polis in Athens.

---

[104] Stibbe 1996, 230: Thracian Dionysos, patron of the Orphic mysteries. Cf. instead Isler-Kerényi 1999c, 41; Stibbe 1996, 232: Dionysos god of the lower classes, favourite of tyrants. Definitively refuted already by Privitera 1970 and later also by Kolb 1977.

[105] Stibbe 1996, 234.

[106] Cf. also Bérard/Bron 1986; Seaford 1994; Massenzio 1995.

[106] See Chapter 7.

[107] Graf 1996, 370: in the same vein, already Jeanmaire 1951, 193.

[108] Chapter 7.

It had strongly conditioned interpretations of Dionysos before the adoption, in Classical studies, of the anthropological perspective and, symptomatically, started to lose force only during the 1970s.

Dionysos had not been introduced when the polis, in Athens with Solon, but also in many other Greek cities, acquired the order subsequently held as canonical: in fact he must have assumed an important role even earlier both for the individual and for the prevalently aristocratic communities. In fact, as shown by his presence in the Mycenaean pantheon, he is a god who goes back many centuries before 600 BCE and was worshipped by the palace society of Mycenaean Greece. This was well known in Classical Greece: according to Herodotus[109], Dionysos, together with Herakles, was certainly considered by the Greeks one of the "youngest" of the gods, but in his time, the 5th century, he was already at least a thousand years old. His birth, then, occurred before the Trojan War. This confirms what has been set out above, that Solon's type of polis, however revolutionary it may seem, had not wished to replace the previous aristocratic regime, but where possible, and with the help of Dionysos, continue and improve it.

The polis defines itself as the antithesis of wild nature but always remains aware of the fact that it is and remains surrounded by it. This also applies on the individual level: the civilised human condition is one, but only one, of many possible modes of being and there is always the risk of turning back into savages, of being sucked back by wild nature. Among other things, the meaning of the institutions and, especially, of the Dionysian rituals, is to defend against these dangers, evident especially in critical moments of transition and in the sphere of male sexuality.

However, our analysis has made clear, in the mental system, the existence and importance of an intermediate and transitional region between the polis and nature: the rural strip. In this zone are set the taming of satyrs, the cultivation of the vine and the production of wine. The mythological image expresses a fundamental feature of the ancient polis: the dependence of the urban centre on its territory and the vital need to incorporate it, together with whoever lives and works there, into its institutions. This is why the satyrs are at home in all three settings—wild nature, the country and the city—

[109] Herodotus 2. 145: Hartog 1980, 95ff.

and they continually move from one to the other: always surrounded and protected by the aura of Dionysos.

Therefore, Dionysos is much more than the god of wine. But wine itself reveals other meanings beyond being an intoxicating drink which favours ritual reversion to the wild state. It is also a symbol and at the same time a means of civilised interaction in that it makes one happy only if consumed in the correct manner and in the right amount. And finally, it is a way of being moved transitorily to a level above daily life: to see and also reveal reality beyond appearances. The pottery of the symposium also belongs to this dignity of wine: a dignity that explains its often very high techne, out of proportion to the material value of clay and so successful in the market. Ultimately wine is a metaphor of the gradual and troubled make-up of the real world: like the whole cosmos, and like the citizen who has attained his akmè, it is the result of a long process. To produce grapes the vine must be cultivated and then cut, the grapes themselves must be trodden and closed into vats so that they can be transformed into wine: these preparations of the drink must have made it suitable for its ritual role in individual metamorphoses.

Inherent in every metamorphosis, whether cosmic or personal, is death. To become different it is unavoidable to cease being what one was before. In fact, to die and to arise again, as we know, is at the centre of all experiences of initiation. Here lay the efficacy of the Bacchic mysteries: it explains their rapid diffusion and their long life in the ancient world, beyond all cultural borders and all changes of political order. Whoever dies becomes a hero or a heroine: but it is not possible to become a hero or a heroine without first having passed through death with Dionysos.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MODERN MYTHOLOGIES: "DIONYSOS" VERSUS "APOLLO"

In modern culture, Apollo and Dionysos are the best known Greek gods, usually considered as opposite and complementary. By subterranean routes, this idea continues to influence Classical scholarship even though it belongs, as we shall see, to the modern rather than to ancient mythology of Dionysos. It now remains to determine whether, and to what extent, the modern myth rests on historical realities of antiquity.

Friedrich Nietzsche

Early in 1872 a book was published in Leipzig on a subject of ancient culture, destined to be famous well beyond specialist circles: "The Birth of Tragedy out of the Spirit of Music", written by the then twenty-seven year old ordinary professor of classical philology in the University of Basle, Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900)[1]. The concept of the "doubleness of the Apolline and the Dionysian"[2] is introduced in its first sentence and is its main argument, particularly evident in the first twelve of its twenty-five chapters. The work immediately caused a great sensation, not only for the actual topic, the origin of Greek tragedy, but because it became part of a debate on the music of Richard Wagner, then prominent in Germany. It was also sensational because it led to lively polemics among classical philologists, the protagonists of which, Erwin Rhode and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who were then very young, would subsequently acquire great academic prestige[3]. This was Nietzsche's first major work and with the books that followed he would become one of the most

[1] Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik, Leipzig 1872. The quotations are taken from Shaun Whiteside's translation, London 1993 (ed. by M. Tanner).

[2] "Duplizität": Reibnitz 1992, 58–64. I wish to thank the author of this fundamental book for her valuable advice and information.

[3] Gründer 1969; Calder 1983, 214–254; Dixsaut 1995.

influential philosophers of the early twentieth century in Germany. This explains, superficially at least, the continuing popularity of the categories Apolline and Dionysian[4].

Any student of antiquity who considers this text today can only be amazed at such explosive and lasting effects[5], only partly made plausible by the exceptionally incisive and involving language. In fact it is immediately obvious that the author's intention was not so much to resolve an historical and philological problem, the origin of a given dramatic genre, as to establish new categories in the field of aesthetics[6]; categories that, in the second half of the book, would have provided a framework for Wagner's contribution to music, indeed to art and culture in general.

The thesis held by Nietzsche is briefly as follows. At the root of every artistic creation there are two impulses (Triebe) which for the ancient Greeks were embodied in the gods Apollo and Dionysos. Apollo expresses measure, calm and sunlight[7], whereas Dionysos expresses ecstasy, the vital energy of nature, freedom from moral ties, and symbiosis between man and the wild and between men of different social classes[8]. To each of these opposing principles are ascribed typical manifestations: to Apollo, for example, the kithara, epic poetry, the order of the Olympian gods; to Dionysos, the aulós, lyric poetry (with its particular manifestation, the dithyramb), metaphysical thought and the mystery religions[9]. Tragedy, the greatest expression of Greek creativity and of religious feeling was born from the synthesis of these two principles and it declines (with Euripides and Socrates) when rational thought begins to challenge myth[10]. With Socrates a long phase dominated by theoretical man begins—by the Alexandrinertum[11]—a phase that would end in the rebirth of tragedy due to the rediscovered unity between tragic myth (meaning Germanic myth) and Dionysian music[12].

---

[4] McGinty 1978, 1–3.
[5] Latacz 1994.
[6] "für die ästhetische Wissenschaft": Reibnitz 1992, 54ff.
[7] Reibnitz 1992, 74.
[8] Reibnitz 1992, 78ff.
[9] Reibnitz 1992, 242ff.
[10] Reibnitz 1992, 274ff.
[11] Reibnitz 1992, 302 and 314; Vogel 1966, 14f. The approach of Vogel's work is strongly criticised by Kruse 1987, 339–348.
[12] Nietzsche 1972, 143.

None of the concepts used by Nietzsche were in themselves new. Not only is the Apollo of Nietzsche ultimately the Apollo of Winckelmann[13], but also the antithesis of the kithara versus the aulós and of the respective musical and poetic genres was a well-established idea at least at the beginning of the nineteenth century[14]. And the same applies to the opposition between Olympian religion and chthonian cults that goes back to Georg Friedrich Creuzer and Karl Otfried Müller[15]. From Müller come many of the ideas implicit and explicit in the Birth of Tragedy[16], among them also the supporting idea: the antithesis between the Apolline and Dionysian.

Therefore, the impact of the Birth of Tragedy on the culture of his time and afterwards cannot be attributed to the novelty and originality of Nietzsche's ideas in ancient matters. Instead, it is due to the fact that precisely on these ideas—well-known by his more educated readers, and belonging, even though in subconscious forms, to the cultural humus of his time[17]—he founded his twofold message. Implicitly he presented his philological colleagues with an image of Greek culture that was new in respect of the traditional image, Winckelman's image[18]: it was marked not by sublime calm but by existential tensions. Explicit, instead, is the message contained in the preface to the first edition dedicated to Wagner[19], in which the author states that he wishes to discuss, at a crucial moment of the history of Germany, not an erudite question but a serious German problem[20]. This statement, dated the end of 1871, shows how much the book,

---

[13] Reibnitz 1992, 243–248. On Nietzsche and Winckelmann: Sichtermann 1996, 243–248.

[14] Reibnitz 1992, 63f. and 113ff. This antithesis has no lack of ancient precursors, which do not necessarily validate the Nietzschean interpretation: Vogel 1966, 69–93.

[15] Schlesier 1991/92, 39ff.

[16] Reibnitz 1992, 407 s.v. "Müller, K.O."

[17] This explains why the binomial Apollonian-Dionysian was already used by Wagner in his theoretical writings: Vogel 1966, 111.

[18] Sichtermann 1996, 246; McGinty 1978, 40f.

[19] The original subtitle, "Out of the Spirit of Music", replaced by "Greekhood and Pessimism" in the re-edition after the break with Wagner, was a tribute to the musician: Kerényi 1988, 159–168; on Nietzsche and Wagner: Montinari 1996, 14–29.

[20] Nietzsche 1972, 20: ". . . were they really to read this essay, they would be astonished to discover the seriously German problem that we are dealing with, a vortex and a turning-point at the very centre of German hopes" (Whiteside 1993, 13).

composed during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71[21], was permeated by the idea of war[22].

What was the message? Now that history had confirmed the military superiority of Germany, it also had to be at the forefront in matters of culture: to give the world a new art founded on different aesthetic criteria from the traditional, implicitly equated with the criteria of the (French!) Enlightenment, which was a modern expression of ancient "Alexandrinism". The rebirth of tragedy as a new artistic genre that was realised in Wagner's work had to be the expression of Germany's new role as the leader of cultured nations[23].

Apollo and Dionysos in German Classical scholarship before Nietzsche

As we know, it was *Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–68)* who made the Greek god Apollo famous in modern culture. Indeed, it is to the statue located in the Belvedere of the Vatican, a Roman marble copy of a Greek bronze original of the 4th century BCE, that he attributes the rank of the "most sublime among all the ancient works that have been preserved for us"[24]. To understand this choice made by Winckelmann, we will try to define the position of his Apollo in the "History of the arts of drawing in the ancient world"[25], the work that immortalised him and has long influenced, not only the study of ancient art and art in general but German culture as a whole[26]. This History of the arts is not a history of art in the modern sense: the author does not simply wish to describe a phenomenon in its historical development but to construct a Lehrgebäude, that is, a system that is also didactic[27], the final purpose of which is to understand the very essence of art[28]. The book is founded on this[29] and Apollo is considered in this perspective.

---

[21] Cf. a little earlier in the same preface: "amidst the terrors and glories of the war that has just broken out, I was assembling my thoughts" (Whiteside 1993, 13).

[22] F. Jesi in Masini 1980, 9f.; Reibnitz 1992, 108; Cancik 1995, 61f. On the fascination that the military world had for Nietzsche: Vogel 1966, 286–288.

[23] An essential and influential component of Nietzschean ideology is anti-Christianity: Reibnitz 1992, 403 s.v. "Christentumskritik"; McGinty 1978, 3; Kutzner 1986, 88–104.

[24] Bianchi-Bandinelli 1976, 25.

[25] Winckelmann 1764.

[26] Sichtermann 1996.

[27] Winckelmann 1764, ix.

[28] Winckelmann 1764, x: "The main purpose, however, . . . is the essence of art".

[29] Borbein 1986, 294f.

The god is briefly named in the first part of the work, which can be defined as theoretical (the second part is really historical), in which the author examines the profound reasons for the aesthetic superiority of Greek art. In chapter four, the first piece (Stück) in which the author identifies freedom as the decisive reason for that superiority[30], follows the piece entitled "On the essence of art"[31]. Apollo, a strong young god, is considered the most suitable subject to express perfect beauty[32] (which does not mean that all the statues of Apollo do so). This is why his statue (evidently the one in the Belvedere), even if it was created by a less outstanding artist, is even better that the Laoocon[33]. It is worth noting that, here already, Apollo's ideal masculine beauty is contrasted with that of Dionysos as a castrated youth[34], of oriental inspiration (from the point of view of freedom therefore, lower than Greek beauty).

Apollo never appears again, either in the "beautiful" style (which corresponds to the style of the 4th century)[35] or in the following periods between Alexander and the Roman conquest, except in the second part of the work, which speaks of Greek art under the Roman emperors. From this it could be deduced that Winckelmann wished to emphasise that the Apollo of the Belvedere is a copy. This hypothesis is very unlikely: whether a statue was an original or a copy in fact did not affect him in evaluating a work of art[36]. It would have been logical, then, to describe it as an outstanding example of Greek art in one of the phases when it flourished. Instead, he cites it as an example of work taken from the Greeks by the Romans.

---

[30] Winckelmann 1764, 130–133; Pucci 1993, 18–21.

[31] Winckelmann 1764, 141.

[32] Winckelmann 1764, 158ff.: "The most noble concept of a male youth has its special image in Apollo, in which the strength of mature years appears fused with the delicate forms of the most beautiful springtime of youth".

[33] Winckelmann 1764, 154: ". . . and the Laoocon is the fruit of much greater study than Apollo . . . But the latter [i.e. the artist of (the statue of) Apollo] was probably endowed with a much higher spirit and a more delicate soul: in fact, in the (statue of) Apollo there is that element of the sublime that is missing from the L."

[34] Winckelmann 1764, 160: "The second type of youthful beauty taken from eunuchs is represented, intermixed with a youthful virility, in Bacchus", and p. 152 (an explanation of "castrated"); Reibnitz 1992, 61 (and n. 25) and 97 (the anti-oriental prejudice of classicism).

[35] Winckelmann 1764, 227ff.

[36] Winckelmann 1764, 336: "Even if someone . . . were in doubt whether Niobe is an original or a copy . . . not even that would diminish the main artistic notions that can be attained from this work". Instead, Pucci 1993, 95–98 sees "a gigantic removal of the problem".

It is worth considering this passage carefully, which comes immediately before the famous description of the Apollo of the Belvedere[37]. Here the text is arranged according to emperor: Claudius is followed by Nero. Winckelmann is well aware of Nero's love of the arts, which, even in a tyrant, could be valued positively. Instead, the terms used immediately express the strongest disapproval: for example, Nero's taste for art is defined as a miser's Begierde, or avidity[38]. But it is his attitude towards the Greeks that makes him more hateful, because, while superficially granting them the greatest freedom, he had taken away from them the most beautiful works of art[39]. In this respect he was completely insatiable, as shown by the fact that from Delphi alone he had five hundred bronze statues removed[40]. And, Winckelmann continues, the Apollo of the Belvedere, found in the imperial residence in Anzio[41], must have been one of these[42] (together with the so-called Borghese Gladiator). Nevertheless, it is a marble statue: the contradiction is obvious. How can it be explained?

At that time, the "History of the Arts of Drawing" was not an easy read, nor is it today. For lengthy sections, the argument remains abstract and theoretical. Certain statements are put into concrete terms only by extremely brief references to works in one or other of the collections[43]. There are very few statues that recur in the text more than once and are described at some length, and only in the second part of the work: the Laocoon[44], the Belvedere Torso[45], the Borghese Gladiator[46], and Apollo. These, rather than the others, were intended to remain imprinted in the reader's memory, principally Apollo. If for Winckelmann Apollo represented the undisputed peak

---

[37] Winckelmann 1764, 392ff.; Bianchi-Bandinelli 1976, 25f.

[38] Winckelmann 1764, 390: "He was like a miser who is trying to hoard without producing (anything)".

[39] Winckelmann 1764, 391: "In spite of all the appearances of freedom, the best works were taken out of the country".

[40] Winckelmann 1764, 391: "Nero was truly insatiable; among other things he sent to Greece Acratus, a wicked freedman, and Secundus Carinas, a third-rate scholar, to choose for the emperor everything that they liked. From the temple of Apollo in Delphi alone they took away five hundred bronze statues".

[41] This provenance does not seem certain: Fuchs 1963, 170.

[42] Winckelmann 1764, 391: "It is probable that the Apollo of the Belvedere . . . was among those statues".

[43] Very few copper engravings accompany the text: see pls. 1–16 of the reprint, Vienna 1934, 395ff.

[44] Winckelmann 1764, 347–350.

[45] Winckelmann 1764, 371f.

[46] Winckelmann 1764, 394.

of Greek art, this was not due to his beauty—otherwise, he would have had to place him differently in his work—but because, being aesthetically perfect, he perfectly expresses freedom. So Nero became even more hateful, guilty of having transformed freedom into captivity.

Another aspect that this passage makes clear is the link between Apollo and Delphi, also suggested by the interpretation of the work as Apollo vanquishing the dragon Python[47]. This link will determine the subsequent estimation of Apollo by Classical scholarship and his relationship to Dionysos.

Of the precedents of Nietzsche's Apollo, one of the most important after Winckelmann was *Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840)*, professor of Greek philology and archaeology in Göttingen since 1819 and the author of manuals that have become standard, with enormous influence on Classical studies throughout the nineteenth century and beyond[48]. In the image he has transmitted of the Greek world, Apollo is fundamental and is contrasted with Dionysos: this can be established in the two volumes of the work that made him famous in Germany while he was still very young: his "History of the Hellenic tribes and cities"[49]. The first volume deals with the peoples that inhabited Greece before the arrival of the Dorians. The treatment is presented as historical, but in fact it is an ingenious reconstruction based on mythological traditions[50]. The most important among the peoples of this primordial Greece, after the Pelasgians, were the Thracians: however, according to Müller they should not be confused with the peripheral and barbarian Thracians of later Greek history[51]. To these Thracians who inhabited Boeotia and the area around Delphi before the Dorians is attributed the cult, composite in origin, of Dionysos[52]. Müller's intention is certainly not to force Dionysos out of the Greek world by giving him non-Greek origins, as for example Wilamowitz

[47] Now an obsolete interpretation as the original is attributed to Leochares: Fuchs 1963, 172.

[48] Unte 1990, 310–320; Calder/Schlesier 1998. See also Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa serie 3, XIV, 1984.

[49] Müller 1820; Müller 1824.

[50] Unte 1990, 313.

[51] Schlesier 1998, 410–415. On the modern myth of the Thracian Dionysos see Isler-Kerényi 1999c.

[52] Müller 1820, 384: "But it is precisely Boeotia that is the country in which the cult of Helicon and of the Cithairon, of Dionysos and Bacchus, were fused together, to produce one mythical figure".

was to do, even if this drags him into contradictions that are difficult to disentangle[53]. At all costs, Dionysos, far-removed from what is considered typically Greek, as we will see, clearly must remain Greek.

Instead, the incarnation of Greek culture that Germany liked at that time is Apollo. In fact, of all the Greek gods, Apollo is by far the most important in the second volume of the History devoted to the Dorians, published four years later[54]. Up to 1950 and later, the Dorians would retain the rank of the most Greek of the Greeks[55], with whom many of the students of antiquity in Germany identified themselves[56]. The identification of the Germans with the Greeks also goes back to Winckelmann[57]. From linguistics a welcome confirmation is provided by Indo-European studies (today called "Indo-Germanic" in the German-speaking world) initiated in Germany by Franz Bopp (1791–1867)[58]. The visceral affinity between ancient Greece and Germany was therefore already part of the cultural baggage of Müller's teachers. In Prussia this was exacerbated by anti-French (and therefore anti-Catholic and anti-Roman) sentiments provoked by the behaviour of Napoleon's Frenchmen during the occupation of Berlin in 1806[59]. This was one of the reasons for the public success of Müller's Dorians[60]. Müller's Doric Apollo, i.e., essentially Spartan (and implicitly Prussian), is a god of purity and light[61]. Instead, but not without distorting the argument, Dionysos is presented as being far less important to the Dorians[62].

In Müller's manual, "History of Greek literature", published shortly after the author's death by his brother[63], a harmonised picture of

---

[53] Schlesier 1998b, 419–421.
[54] Müller 1820, II, xviiiff.; Losemann 1998, 316.
[55] Calder 1998, 146f.
[56] Wittenburg 1984; Reibnitz 1992, 126.
[57] Sichtermann 1996, 96f.
[58] Schlerath 1990; Reibnitz 1992, 246–249.
[59] Isler-Kerényi 1998, 261f.
[60] But later, Müller distanced himself from this work: Losemann 1998, 314.
[61] Müller 1820, II, xix: "At the centre is the concept of purity, of light"; Reibnitz 1992, 106ff.
[62] Müller 1820, II, 403: "But we have no information about sumptuous festivals or a worship specially requested by the god; we can presuppose that in general, the severe and sober spirit of Sparta would hardly appear favourable to it". Cf. Schlesier 1998, 420: "It is true that Müller is trying to isolate the Dionysian orgies of the Dorians as a specifically female affair or as a local deviation (within the Dorian colonies), but he cannot deny the invention of drama by the Dorians".
[63] Müller 1841. It had first been issued in an English translation: Calder 1998, 123ff.

the religious world of the Greeks is presented, rather artificially, smoothing over the contradictions in respect of Dionysos. On the one hand, we have the Olympus of Homer, governed throughout Greece by a single god of the sky and daylight, Zeus. On the other hand, this world is based on an older foundation, chthonian in character, that goes back to before Homer, which could be defined as Pelasgian. Clearly, Apollo belongs to the Olympian level[64], Dionysos to the chthonian level[65]. However, Dionysos is distinct from the rest of the pantheon for other reasons. For Müller, his cult has some affinity with the religions of Asia Minor and was spread by the Thracians residing in northern Greece—it is uncertain whether it still corresponds to Boeotia!—but not uniformly throughout Greece. Even so it was to have a decisive influence on the culture of the Greek nation[66]. This influence materialises giving origin to tragedy and establishing a link between tragedy and mystery cults[67].

Müller's Apollo represents the quintessence of Doric culture and is the highest possible form of the divine before Christianity[68]: clearly it has the look of Winckelmann's Apollo. Even if for Winckelmann, who was more "pagan" than Müller[69], Apollo had instead been the symbol of freedom temporarily humiliated, but destined to triumph. In the teleological view of history—directed towards a goal, whether Christian redemption or freedom—Apollo is in any case a perfect forerunner. Unlike Dionysos, who for Winckelmann and later also for Müller, was the opposite of Apollo in that he aroused exaggerated emotions and provoked excessive and uncontrolled attitudes[70].

With this circumlocution, Müller expresses in his way the two subterranean reasons for modern aversion towards Dionysos, which make

---

[64] Müller 1841, I, 22: ". . . So just as there are similar beings alongside the god of the heavens who with the force of light permeate the earth and destroy opposing forces—like Athena, born from her father's head in the celestial heights, or luminous Apollo—so other deities act in the depths of the earth".

[65] Müller 1841, I, 23: "But here is, as a peculiar being, the multiform god of nature who flowers and withers and is rejuvenated, Dionysos".

[66] Müller 1841, I, 23.

[67] Reibnitz 1992, 371: corresponding text in Müller 1841, II, 23–31.

[68] On Müller's teleology see Calder 1998, 147ff.

[69] Müller did not accept Winckelmann without reservations: Isler-Kerényi 1998, 255 (and n. 77).

[70] Müller 1841, I, 23ff.: "It arouses a series of manifestations in art and poetry, the common element of which is that in them a stronger excitement of the mind is revealed, a higher leap of the imagination and even more lack of restraint in pleasure and pain".

him incompatible with the Protestant conception of religion as ascetic and moderated: the irrational and orgiastic component of his cult and sexuality. On other occasions as well, the son of a Protestant pastor[71] accurately avoids even naming the sexual sphere[72]: characteristically, Nietzsche does not follow him here[73]. The protagonists of the polemic concerning "The Birth of Tragedy" will continue to use vague allusions, as soon as the sexual sphere is even mentioned[74]. We will see how this incompatibility of Dionysos with the Protestant idea of religion also influenced successive interpretations of the god.

However, there remain at least two incontestable arguments that force us to take an essential contribution of Dionysos to Greek culture into consideration. The first, from at least the 6th century BCE, is the intimate cultural proximity of Apollo and Dionysos in Delphi[75]. The second is tragedy, considered the most original and admirable of all the creations of Greek culture[76], although it goes back, according to the ancient sources, through the dithyramb, not to Apollo but to Dionysos. Müller resolved this problem by attributing Dionysos to Delphi and a religious and historical level that precedes the one to which Apollo belongs, i.e. further away in time from Christianity.

Apollo and Dionysos in Classical scholarship after Nietzsche

"The Birth of Tragedy" put an end to Nietzsche's philological phase[77] and shortly afterwards he even left academic work. However, the ostracism of his colleagues[78] did not succeed in preventing his Dionysos, who was derived directly from the romantic Dionysos—orgiastic, martyred, erotic—gradually defined by Schlegel, Creuzer, Schelling,

---

[71] Wittenburg 1984, 1031f.

[72] Calder 1998, 142: "Embarrassing details of costume (of Greek comedy). . . are discreetly dismissed (II.90) as 'other disfigurations and appendages purposely extravagant and indecorous . . .". Also illuminating is Müller's comment, summarised by Calder 1998, 134: "What this means at the end is to minimize any startling divergence from Christianity".

[73] Reibnitz 1992, 209ff. (divergent interpretations of satyrs); Cancik 1995, 157.

[74] See the controversy between Rohde and Wilamowitz concerning the meaning of satyrs: Gründer 1969, 46f. and 98f.

[75] Privitera 1970, 125 n. 53. The most relevant facts, attested by Plutarch, are that Apollo and Dionysos shared the cultic year and some of their rituals were celebrated at the same time: Reibnitz 1992, 108f.

[76] Rohde in Gründer 1969, 9: "This wonderful creation, the tragic art".

[77] Cancik 1995, 33f.

[78] Latacz 1994, 42.

Welcker and Bachofen[79], from prevailing over a radiant and pure Apollo. Two phases are distinguishable: the first, around 1900, was more creative; the second, between 1930 and 1940, was more "academic" and as influential.

In his youth *Erwin Rohde (1845–1898)*[80] had been a close friend of Nietzsche, as documented in substantial correspondence[81]. Already in the first item he wrote in favour of his friend, published in a daily newspaper on the 26th May, 1872[82], he adopts the idea that Dionysos, like Apollo, impersonates a fundamental impulse of the artist of all times. He also accepts that the tragic myth, a perfect synthesis of the "Apolline and Dionysian", is a manifestation of the "spirit of music" which, being the most immaterial artistic genre, is also the highest[83]. He confirms it shortly after in his violent reply to Wilamowitz[84] (no less personal and offensive than Wilamowitz's pamphlet against Nietzsche). He then sets out his own theory, which is not aesthetic but historical and philological, on the origin of tragedy from the dithyramb, on the development of the dithyramb and Satyr plays, and on the role of the satyr, considered to be fundamental[85].

The Dionysian phenomenon would be one of the principal themes of Rohde's book from 1893, which became standard, and was widely appreciated beyond the circle of Classical scholars: "Psyche. Cult of the soul and belief in immortality among the Greeks"[86]. It is an historical treatment of Greek spirituality based on practically all its literary and philosophical expressions. This problem, like the approach of the work, brings out the teleological and evolutionist conception of the history of religion[87]. The first volume deals with the convictions and practices of what is considered genuine Greek religion as

---

[79] Henrichs 1984, 218ff.; Reibnitz 1992, 61ff. and 267. On the romantic precedents of Nietzsche in more detail: Reibnitz 2000. It was the monograph by Creutzer (1771–1858), Dionysus, sive Commentationes academicae de rerum bacchicarum orphicorumque originibus et causis, Heidelberg 1809, attacked immediately by C.A. Lobeck, which began the discussion on Dionysos in Classical scholarship.

[80] Cancik 1990.

[81] Calder 1983, 238f.; McGinty 1978, 36.

[82] Gründer 1969, 15–26. In the same newspaper, Wagner's reply to Wilamowitz in defence of Nietzsche would appear: Gründer 1969, 57–64; Vogel 1966, 164f.

[83] Reibnitz 1992, 66.

[84] With the title Afterphilologie (i.e., "Anal philology"): Gründer 1969, 65–111.

[85] Gründer 1969, 93–99; cf. also Reibnitz 1992, 104.

[86] Rohde 1910 (5th edition); McGinty 1978, 34–70.

[87] Even though the author expressly wished to refrain from a Christian interpretation: Rohde 1893, x f.

expressed by the Homeric poems. However, this religion was not able, states Rohde in the preface to the second volume, to attain the "idea of the true immortality of the soul"[88]. This could have happened only by the diffusion, from Thrace, of a new cult that the Greeks attributed to Dionysos, a cult that, by means of ecstasy (that is, to leave one's self in a momentary madness) promised union with the deity and so participation in his immortality[89].

In reality, this cult was, as for Nietzsche, the particular expression of a human impulse present always and everywhere[90]. However, where the Thracians would never have succeeded in going beyond a primitive stage of this religion, the Greeks would have realised a synthesis at Delphi between the traditional, Homeric beliefs and this new cult through Melampus dear to Apollo[91]. From here, between the 8th and 6th centuries, it was spread by the first initiates into the whole of Greece, together with the humanised image of Dionysos[92]. There follows, logically, a chapter on the Orphics, followers of that Orpheus who, like Melampus, belongs to the sphere of both Apollo and Dionysos, who were the first to believe in the immortality of the soul[93].

Rohde's thesis is not that different from Müller's and retains its ideological presuppositions, such as the distinction between Apolline religious vision, genuinely Greek, and the cult of Dionysos, eclectic and primitive in nature; such as the idea that the memory of extremely ancient historical facts is preserved in mythology; and the teleological course of the history of religion. As against Müller's model, the "exotic" element in Dionysos is amplified and better defined. Simultaneously, and paradoxically, the historical role of Dionysos becomes more important.

---

[88] Rohde 1910, II, 2: "It was not from the cult of souls that idea of a real immortality of the soul could be developed, of its imperishable, autonomous life, based on its own strength . . . In that case, in fact, it would have had to wish to give up its most intimate nature".

[89] McGinty 1978, 54f.

[90] Rohde 1910, II, 23: "In fact, that Thracian cult of exaltation was only the manifestation, peculiarly configured, according to national specificity, of a religious impulse that appears . . . in every time and place over the whole earth, and therefore must derive . . . from a need that is deeply rooted in human nature".

[91] Rohde 1910, II, 51f. On Melampus: Casadio 1994, 78–82 and 103f.

[92] Rohde 1910, II, 67.

[93] Rohde 1910, II, 131: "In the building of Orphic religion it is the keystone that holds everything together: faith in the vital force, divinely immortal, of the souls".

Dionysos was also a favourite theme of *Jane Ellen Harrison (1850–1928)*[94], and her interpretation, a decade after Rohde's, was very influential especially in the Anglo-Saxon world[95]. Her "Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion" of 1903 is intended to throw light on the oldest phases of Greek religion: not based on myth[96] but on ritual, according to the new perspective adopted in the study of ancient religion by the so-called "Cambridge Ritualists" to whom she belonged. For her, the purpose of the rituals was to guarantee physical subsistence: hence the importance of fertility[97]. The progress of history is essentially evolutionistic and Darwinian, that is it goes from the rough and primitive to ever higher forms of life and ultimately to Christianity[98]. Like Rohde and Nietzsche, who were received positively[99], Harrison is also connected with many of Müller's ideas: one of the things she adopts from him is the distinction between Olympian and chthonian cults that tend to replace or rather to incorporate the "Apolline-Dionysian" binomial. Her use of archaeological material is new, from the images on vases to the discoveries by Schliemann and Evans.

Harrison's Dionysos[100] is of Thracian origin (as are the satyrs) and therefore his connection with wine is secondary[101]; even before that he is god of vegetation, including cereals, and primitive intoxicating substances, such as beer (!) and honey. Dionysos is a god of the trees who also identifies with some animals, such as the bull. Delphi has a role similar to the one hypothesised by Müller and Rohde: it is the place in which together with the decrepit Olympian system, personified by Apollo, there lives the most genuine Dionysian cult, which was to give rise to the dithyramb. As in Rohde, Orphism would bridge the gap between ancient polytheism and Christian monotheism.

---

[94] Schlesier 1990b; McGinty 1978, 71–103.

[95] Henrichs 1984, 229ff.

[96] As Müller had done in his famous "Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie" of 1825.

[97] The idea of fertility, which even today enjoys disproportionate popularity especially among archaeologists, seems to go back to a study of the cult of Priapus by the English scholar R.P. Knight (1751–1824).

[98] Schlesier 1991, 191 and 224.

[99] On the reception given to Nietzsche: Reibnitz 1992, 148f. and 184 (n. 9).

[100] Harrison 1907, 363–453.

This idea of Dionysos was to remain essentially the same in Harrison's second major work, called "Themis"[102], which contains a revised reading of the phenomena presented in Prolegomena from the perspective of the collective. Where Dionysos, essentially the son of his mother in a matriarchal order, remains of crucial importance, the antipathy towards Apollo, representing a patriarchal system, is more obvious[103]: this is the chief difference from Rohde (and Müller). To Dionysos, who is now also an initiating god[104], Harrison attributes instead both markedly exotic traits and exceptional religious efficacy.

The books by Rohde and Harrison are exceptionally rich in documentary material on the history of Greek religion, but are based on predetermined theses. The next stage in the progress of the Apollo-Dionysos binomial is marked by two great manuals—and between the two, by something like a proclamation—which for many decades were to affect not only philological studies but also the study of the history of religion and archaeology[105].

Chronologically and personally closer to the phase of Nietzsche and Rohde is the survey called "The faith of the Hellenes", by *Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848–1931)*[106]. He first expressed his opinion on Dionysos, as has been mentioned, in a long article that ferociously attacked Nietzsche's "The Birth of Tragedy" with clues from academic philology in the year of its publication[107] (distorting its argument which is not philological and historical but aesthetic and programmatic). The Greek gods, including Apollo and Dionysos, were subsequently the object of sporadic minor studies, brought together in a great manual written during his last months and not completely finished[108]. In spite of the superficially historical and positivist tone of his text, not even Wilamowitz moves away from Müller's axioms on the connection between stock and religion, on the teleological

---

[101] As for Rohde 1910, II, 39, and obviously for the same reason that the cultivation of wine cannot be of Nordic origin. However, cf. now Privitera 1970, 43.
[102] Harrison 1912.
[103] This combination is inspired by Bachofen and later by Nietzsche: Schlesier 1991, 214ff.; Behler 1983, 337.
[104] McGinty 1978, 94f.
[105] For example, Simon 1980, 269–294.
[106] Wilamowitz 1931/32; Fowler 1990; Henrichs 1995, 436–440.
[107] With the title *Zukunftsphilologie!* (i.e. "Futuristic philology!"): Gründer 1969, 27–55 and 113–135 (answering Rohde). For the very personal reasons for his reaction: Calder 1983, 230–236.
[108] Henrichs 1985.

progress of history, on the congeniality also in the matter of "faith" between Greece and Prussian Germany. His position, deeply conservative, is also evident in the overwhelming attention for myth as against ritual in reconstructing the individuality of each god. The course of Greek religion of the first centuries is no different from the one proposed by Rohde (and by Harrison): for him too the irruption from Thracia of Dionysian enthusiasm into the divine cosmos of Homer between the 8th and 7th centuries BCE is a crucial moment[109]. As for Harrison, Dionysos has oriental origins besides the Thracian and his connection with wine is secondary. However, he enjoys no attraction of any kind and even less Orphism[110]: Wilamowitz conferred on Dionysos a plebeian, rural, even barbaric connotation[111], stressing in a disdainful way his supposed belonging to the feminine world[112]. The only merit that he allows him is of having given tragedy to the Greeks: and it is precisely here, surprisingly, that the Nietzschean category of Apolline and Dionysian re-emerges[113]. Even more paradoxical is the thesis of the oriental origin not only of Dionysos but also of Apollo[114].

Summarising the work of Wilamowitz we can say that he succeeded, using their very arguments, to remove from Dionysos precisely that religious value that Nietzsche, Rohde and above all Harrison had recognised in him. His powerful and lasting academic prestige and the influence that he consciously exerted on Classical scholarship through four decades of university teaching[115], also imposed this strongly reductive image of the god on archaeology. It has survived to our own times, even beyond the discovery of the name Dionysos on Mycenaean tablets, which would open the way for a fundamental redirection of Dionysian studies[116].

---

[109] Reibnitz 1992, 109 (n. 88).

[110] Henrichs 1985, 303ff.

[111] Wilamowitz 1931/32, II, 81: "Dionysos never succeeded in leaving behind his barbaric origin. All the more worthy of admiration, then, is what the Greeks made him".

[112] On the misogynistic thread to which the Dionysos of Wilamowitz is connected cf. Reibnitz 1992, 99 and 105.

[113] Wilamowitz 1931/32: "What Dionysos brought to the Greeks, i.e. the intensification of the creative force of the soul, is evident in the clearest manner in the fact that they created tragedy, so showing to the world the path for reaching the highest peak of poetry; this peak, however, has not been reached by any people, since none has succeeded in clarifying religious solemnity, with its Dionysian ecstasy, ultimately to make it become pure beauty through formal Greek severity".

[114] Today replaced by more differentiated hypotheses: Burkert 1977, 227f.

[115] Fowler 1990, 511; Canfora 1985; Schindler 1985.

[116] Privitera 1970, 13f.; Burkert 1977, 253.

Two years later, against Wilamowitz, *Walter F. Otto (1874–1950)* re-established the divine dignity of Dionysos. His monograph on Dionysos of 1933[117], which follows and completes his successful book on the gods of Greece[118], is an explicit polemic against the dominant approach of the history of religions of his time, positivist and evolutionist, personified by both Wilamowitz and Nilsson and by the Cambridge Ritualists[119]. For Otto, history begins not with the superstitious practices of primitives in favour of fertility but with the epiphany of the gods: Otto's approach is clearly neo-paganism of Nietzschean derivation[120]. Not by chance, he would propose again, forcefully, the Apollo-Dionysos union and make it the driving force not only of the birth of tragedy but of everything that comes into existence in the universe[121]. However, Otto's Dionysos, which already expresses the fundamental duality of creation, the antithesis between opposing tendencies, was at first ignored by academic Classical scholarship and only rediscovered decades later when the structuralists emerged in France[122].

Evolutionist thought—and with it a primitive Dionysos—was to be proposed again in the second great manual on Greek religion, by *Martin P. Nilsson (1874–1967)*[123], with the title "History of Greek Religion" in 1941[124]. This author, one of the most famous and most influential of Wilamowitz's students[125], is, however, less averse to Dionysos than his teacher: his deep interest in the god is already apparent in his doctoral thesis of 1900[126] and was to continue during a long scholarly career[127]. Even though he was a convinced historian and positivist, Nilsson was not deaf to the arguments of

---

[117] Otto 1933; Cancik 1996, 105–123.
[118] Otto 1929; Cancik 1998, 139–163.
[119] McGinty 1978, 141–180; Henrichs 1985–1990, 139ff.
[120] Reibnitz 1992, 268 (n. 38); McGinty 1978, 130 and 167. On the relationship Otto-Nietzsche see also Kerényi 1994, 8.
[121] Otto 1933, 188: "In this way earthly Dionysian duality would be accepted and taken up again into a new and higher duality, in other words, in the unceasing opposition between life in perpetual motion and the spirit which, unmoving, sweeps the distance with a look".
[122] Henrichs 1984, 234f.
[123] Mejer 1990.
[124] Quotations taken from Nilsson 1955; McGinty 1978, 104–140.
[125] Mejer 1990, 335; Briggs/Calder 1990, xi: "Nilsson and Heiberg for most of their lives were encouraged or taught through books and letters by Wilamowitz".
[126] Nilsson 1900.
[127] McGinty 1978, 222 n. 1.

unorthodox colleagues such as Rohde and Harrison: this is reflected in the image of Dionysos proposed by him. However eclectic and transient[128], Dionysos is not as impoverished as in Wilamowitz. Dionysos is always of non-Greek origin, hence his position, immediately after Apollo, in the section of the book devoted to immigrant and Hellenised gods. In this process of "Hellenisation", it is due to Dionysos that Apollo became the most Greek of the Greek gods[129]; the role of Dionysos in the history of Greek religion, then, for Nilsson also, goes well beyond tragedy.

On reconsidering the course described it is clear, at this point, how Apollo, at the start considered to be the quintessence of Greek culture and religion, was gradually supplanted by Dionysos in studies on antiquity: implicitly confirming Nietzsche's intuition that it would be impossible to understand Greek culture as long as the essence of "Dionysian" escaped us[130]. The Apollo-Dionysos binomial which does gradually lose interest as studies progress in an historical and positivist sense, seems however to retain a nucleus that cannot be eliminated.

A deep unease remained about Dionysos for a long time, at least in "orthodox" circles, which in Germany and elsewhere was connected to Wilamowitz[131], damaging his religious credibility. In our view this unease is due to the orgiastic and erotic components of that god. The orgiastic component was to be tackled systematically but differently in two important monographs, one by Eric Roberston Dodds[132] and the other by Henri Jeanmaire, both from 1951[133]. Sexuality, which remained suppressed even by Otto[134], was to become a theme only when, together with the interest in the historical and

[128] Nilsson 1955, 602: "This is why the original figure of Dionysos is so difficult to grasp; and what was ambiguous in him in his appearance was ultimately strengthened by the fact that probably he entered Greece following two paths and coming from two countries, in slightly different guises"; McGinty 1978, 113ff.

[129] Nilsson 1955, 602: "Dionysos provoked nothing less than a religious revolution, re-invigorating the flame of ecstatic and mystic religion, repressed up to then; and Apollo gave life to the pressure to observe carefully the commandments of the gods and of religion . . . In this way . . . he[Apollo] became the representative of measure, of order, of harmony, becoming the most Greek of the Greek gods".

[130] Dixsaut 1995, 12.

[131] Briggs/Calder 1990, xi.

[132] Dodds 1951.

[133] Jeanmaire 1951.

[134] Kerényi 1994, 8.

anthropological phenomenon of the Greek polis, a new Dionysian topic was to emerge: the symposium[135]. Before that moment, the Apollo-Dionysos binomial—that is, the generalised attribution of opposite competences to two deities—has caused an essential but "Apolline" element of Dionysos to remain unnoticed: his being also a civic god, intimately connected with the institutions of the polis[136].

Apollo and Dionysos today

Since there is growing evidence that the myth of the Apolline and the Dionysian is modern[137], we must ask what the irreducible historical nucleus of this "genial mistake" is[138]. It would be premature to answer this question today. Therefore we will simply indicate recent trends in Classical studies.

Walter Burkert's manual which replaced Nilsson's manual in 1977, is an authoritative voice[139]. In a few but dense pages he lists the arguments that can be derived from ancient tradition in favour of a special link between Dionysos and Apollo. The historical existence of such a link can be confirmed, however, only if couplings such as Dionysos and Apollo on Greek vases or coins[140], or in the ritual practice of Thebes at the time of Pausanias, should turn out to be exclusive to these two gods. The distinction between musical instruments and poetic genres peculiar to Apollo and Dionysos respectively is definitely ancient but not sufficient to construct an ideological antithesis[141]. In this completely dispassionate survey, too, Delphi emerges, either as a theatre of complementary rituality or as a special place in the imagination of tragedians: from which Burkert is inclined to extract, if nothing else, a polarity of the two gods[142].

---

[135] Murray 1990.

[136] For Graf 1996, 370, Dionysos is still one of the gods that are most alien to the polis and its order, as Jeanmaire 1951, 193, states. And this in spite of the central and well documented role of Dionysos in the major cultic manifestations of the polis of Athens: it is enough to mention the marriage with the basilinna during the Anthesteria.

[137] Hamdorf 1986, 44ff.; Graf 1996, 373.

[138] As stated in the subtitle of the book by Vogel 1966 "History of a genial mistake".

[139] Burkert 1977, 341–343.

[140] For the Roman coins cf. Mannsperger 1973.

[141] Privitera 1970, 125f. on Pindar's interpretation by Wilamowitz.

[142] Burkert 1977, 343.

Orpheus stands out between the mythological characters belonging to both the world of Apollo and the world of Dionysos, today as in the past, and he is far more important to Greek religion, for example, than the satyr Marsyas.

A famous peculiarity of Delphi is that a delegation of Athenian women took part in Dionysian winter rituals, attested by Plutarch. Also well known is the prominent role of Dionysos in the ritual calendar of Athens, the model polis, which conspicuously contradicts the thesis of his being alien to the political sphere. This role belongs, instead, as shown by Claude Calame[143], to a topographical, in fact geographical mental framework of which Apollo and Dionysos—however, together with other deities of the polis such as Athena, Poseidon and Demeter—define the poles. In this system, Delphi corresponds to Delos, an important setting of the Dionysian adventures of Ariadne[144].

Marcel Detienne's reasoned survey[145] allows him to illustrate the dynamics peculiar to polytheism (not only Greek), which specifically combines and contrasts divine figures in order to throw light on reality[146]. Here the focus falls on the places in which Apollo and Dionysos co-exist ritually outside Delphi: Ikarion in Attica, Rhodes, Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Naukratis. From it are derived areas of action common to the two gods: besides prophecy and poetry (often discussed in the past), viticulture, medicine, the paideia. With the paideia (the way Greeks were led into adulthood), as with the symposium, we are now touching the public and political sphere, namely that feature of Dionysos' physiognomy which earlier scholars of antiquity, too fascinated by the modern myth, seem to have missed completely: the Dionysos of the polis[147].

The few recent contributions on Apollo and Dionysos taken into consideration here show that there are real connections between the modern myth and ancient tradition, but they still await adequate interpretation. Hence the need, to which future studies of ancient civilisation must respond, to re-examine all the evidence. Such studies

---

[143] Calame 1990, 364–371.
[144] Casadio 1994, 179–182.
[145] Detienne 1998, 11–20. A first version, translated into German, is in Faber/Schlesier 1986, 124–132.
[146] Cf. also Graf 1996, 379.
[147] This feature is abundantly evident in the ancient iconography of Dionysos, as presented in this book.

must bear in mind that Apollo, or Dionysos, or all the gods are manifestations not of stirps, nor even of a divine will over and above cultures, but of the cultural polycentrism and the historical dynamics active in Greece from the 2nd millennium BCE right until the very end of antiquity.

WORKS CITED

Amyx 1988: D.A. Amyx, Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period. Berkeley-Los Angeles/London.

Andò 1996: V. Andò, Nymphe: la sposa e le Ninfe, QUCC n.s. 52.1, 47–79.

Angiolillo 1997: S. Angiolillo, Arte e cultura nell'Atene di Pisistrato e dei Pisistratidi. Bari.

Bakir 1974: T. Bakir, Der Kolonnettenkrater in Korinth und Attika zwischen 625 und 550 v.Chr. Beiträge zur Archäologie 7. Würzburg.

Balensiefen 1994: L. Balensiefen, Die „Kyropädie" des Baumeisters Kyros und die antiken Sehtheorien, JdI 109, 301–319.

Beazley 1932: J.D. Beazley, Little-Master Cups, JHS 52, 167–204.

Beazley 1944: J.D. Beazley, Groups of Early Black-figure, Hesperia 13, 38–57.

Beazley 1986: J.D. Beazley, The Development of Attic Black-figure[2]. London.

Beazley, ABV: J.D. Beazley, Attic Black-figure Vase-Painters. Oxford 1978.

Beazley, ARV: J.D. Beazley, Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters[2]. Oxford 1963.

Beazley, Para: J.D. Beazley, Paralipomena. Oxford 1971.

Beazley Addenda: T.H. Carpenter, Beazley Addenda. Additional References to ABV, ARV[2] & Paralipomena. Oxford 1989.

Behler 1983: E. Behler, Die Auffassung des Dionysischen durch die Brüder Schlegel und Friedrich Nietzsche, Nietzsche Studien 12, 335–354.

Benson 1971: J.L. Benson, A Floral Master of the Chimaera Group: the Otterlo Painter, AntK 14, 1971, 13–24.

Bentz 1998: M. Bentz, Panathenäische Preisamphoren. Eine athenische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.–4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. 18.Beiheft AntK. Basel.

Bérard 1974: C. Bérard, Anodoi. Essai sur l'imagerie des passages chthoniens. Istituto svizzero di Roma.

Bérard 1983: C. Bérard, Iconographie-iconologie-iconologique, in C. Bérard (ed.), Essais sémiotiques. Etudes de lettres 4, 5–37.

Bérard/Bron/Pomari 1987: C. Bérard/C. Bron/A. Pomari (eds.), Images et société en Grèce ancienne. L'iconographie comme méthode d'analyse. Cahiers d'archéologie romande 36. Lausanne.

Bérard/Vernant 1984: C. Bérard/J.P. Vernant (eds.), La cité des images. Lausanne.

Berger/Lullies 1979: E. Berger/R. Lullies (eds.), Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig I. Frühe Tonsarkophage und Vasen. Basel.

Bernardi 1984: B. Bernardi, I sistemi delle classi d'età. Ordinamenti sociali e politici fondati sull'età. Torino.

Berti 1991: F. Berti (ed.), Dionysos. Mito e mistero. Atti del Convegno Internazionale a Comacchio 1989. Comacchio.

Bianchi Bandinelli 1976: R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Introduzione all'archeologia. Bari

Bierl/Möllendorff 1994: A. Bierl/P. v.Möllendorff (eds.), Orchestra. Drama Mythos Bühne. Festschrift H. Flashar. Stuttgart/Leipzig.

Bloesch 1940: H. Bloesch, Formen attischer Schalen. Bern.

Bloesch/Isler 1976: H. Bloesch/H.P. Isler (eds.), Studia Ietina I. Erlenbach.

Boardman 1974: J. Boardman, Athenian Black Figure Vases. London.

Boardman 1976: J. Boardman, A Curious Eye Cup, AA 1976, 281–290.

Boardman 1978: J. Boardman, Greek Sculpture. The Archaic Period. London/New York.

Boardman 1988: J. Boardman, Dates and Doubts, AA 423–425.

Boardman 1998: J. Boardman, Early Greek Vase Painting. London.
Böhr 1982: E. Böhr, Der Schaukelmaler. Mainz a. Rh.
Böhr/Martini 1986: E. Böhr/W. Martini (eds.), Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei. K. Schauenburg zum 65. Geburtstag. Mainz a. Rh.
Borbein 1986: A.H. Borbein, Winckelmann und die Klassische Archäologie, in Gaehgtens 1986, 289–299.
Bothmer 1985: D. v.Bothmer, The Amasis Painter and his World. Vase-Painting in Sixth-Century B.C. Athens. Malibu/New York/London.
Brandt 1997: H. Brandt, Herakles und Peisistratos, oder: Mythos und Geschichte. Anmerkungen zur Interpretation vorklassischer Vasenbilder, Chiron 27, 315–334.
Briggs/Calder 1990: W.W. Briggs/W.M. Calder III (eds.), Classical Scholarship. A Biographical Encyclopedia. New York/London.
Brijder 1983: H.A.G. Brijder, Siana Cups I and Komast Cups. Allard Pierson Series 4. Amsterdam.
Brijder 1991: H.A.G. Brijder, Siana Cups II. The Heidelberg Painter. Allard Pierson Series 8. Amsterdam.
Brijder 1997: H.A.G. Brijder, New Light on the Earliest Attic Black-Figure Drinking-Cups, in Oakley/Coulson/Palagia 1997, 1–15.
Bron 1989: C. Bron et alii, Hephaïstos Bacchant ou le cavalier comaste: simulation de raisonnement qualitatif par le langage informatique LISP, AION 11, 155–172.
Brook Manville 1990: P. Brook Manville, The Origins of Citizenship in Ancient Athens. UP Princeton NJ.
Bruit Zaidman 1993: L. Bruit Zaidman, Die Töchter der Pandora. Die Frauen in den Kulten der Polis, in Schmitt Pantel 1993, 375–415.
Brulé 1987: P. Brulé, La fille d'Athènes. La religion des filles à Athènes à l'époque classique. Mythes, cultes et société. Paris.
Burkert 1977: W. Burkert, Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche. Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln/Mainz.
Burkert 1990: W. Burkert, Antike Mysterien. Funktionen und Gehalt. München.
Burkert 1993: W. Burkert, Bacchic Teletai in the Hellenistic Age, in Carpenter/Faraone 1993, 259–275.
Calame 1990: C. Calame, Thésée et l'imaginaire athénien. Légende et culte en Grèce antique. Lausanne.
Calame 1996: C. Calame, L'Eros dans la Grèce antique. Paris.
Calder 1983: W.M. Calder III, The Wilamowitz-Nietzsche Struggle: New Documents and a Reappraisal, in Nietzsche-Studien 12, 214–254.
Calder 1998: W.M. Calder III, A Believer's "History of the Literature of Ancient Greece". Karl Otfried Müller 150 Years later, in Calder/Schlesier 1998, 123–150.
Calder/Cancik/Kytzler 1991: W.M. Calder III/H. Cancik/B. Kytzler (eds.), Otto Jahn (1813–1868). Stuttgart.
Calder/Flashar/Lindken 1985: W.M. Calder III/H. Flashar/T. Lindken (eds.), Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren. Darmstadt.
Calder/Schlesier 1998: W.M. Calder III/R. Schlesier (eds.), Zwischen Rationalismus und Romantik. Karl Otfried Müller und die antike Kultur. Hildesheim.
Callipolitis-Feytmans 1970: D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, Dinos corinthien de Vari. AE, 86–113.
Callipolitis-Feytmans 1976: D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, Des aryballes à pied en Attique et leurs rapports avec Corinthe, BCH 100, 137–158.
Callipolitis-Feytmans 1979: D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, La coupe apode à boutons en Attique et le Peintre d'Athènes 533, BCH 103, 195–215.
Callipolitis-Feytmans 1980: D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, La coupe à figures noires Athènes 17873 et le peintre de Kallis, BCH 104, 317–332.

Camassa 1994: G. Camassa, Passione e rigenerazione: Dioniso e Persefone nelle lamine ‚orfiche', AION 14 (Sez. Filologico-letteraria), 171–182.
Canciani 1997: F. Canciani, EAA. Suppl.II, 1971–1994, s.v. Tirrenici, vasi.
Cancik 1986: H. Cancik, Dionysos 1933: W.F. Otto, ein Religionswissenschaftler und Theologe am Ende der Weimarer Republik, in Faber/Schlesier 1986, 105–123.
Cancik 1990: H. Cancik, E. Rohde, in Briggs/Calder 1990, 395–404.
Cancik 1995: H. Cancik, Nietzsches Antike: Vorlesung. Stuttgart.
Cancik 1998: H. Cancik, Antik-Modern. Beiträge zur römischen und deutschen Kulturgeschichte. Stuttgart/Weimar.
Cancik/Gladigow/Laubscher 1990: H. Cancik/B. Gladigow/M. Laubscher, Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe II. Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln.
Canfora 1985: L. Canfora, Wilamowitz: ‚Politik' in der Wissenschaft, in Calder/Flashar/Lindken 1985, 56–79
Cantarella 1990: E. Cantarella, "Neaniskoi". Classi d'età e passaggi di "status" nel diritto ateniese, MEFRA 102, 37–51.
Cantarella 1992: E. Cantarella, Secondo natura. La bisessualità nel mondo antico[2]. Roma.
Carpenter 1986: T.H. Carpenter, Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art. Oxford.
Carpenter 1997: T.H. Carpenter, Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens. Oxford.
Carpenter/Faraone 1993: T.H. Carpenter/C.A. Faraone (eds.), Masks of Dionysus. Ithaca/London.
Casadio 1994: G. Casadio, Storia del culto di Dioniso in Argolide. Roma.
Castagnoli 1975: F. Castagnoli et alii (eds.), Lavinium II. Le tredici are. Roma.
Christiansen/Melander 1988: J. Christiansen/T. Melander (eds.), Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Copenhagen 1987. Copenhagen.
Coldstream 1977: J.N. Coldstream, Geometric Greece. London.
Cook 1972: R.M. Cook, Greek Painted Pottery[2]. London.
Cremer 1981: M. Cremer, Zur Deutung des jüngeren Korfu-Giebels, AA, 317–328.
Cristofani 1991: M. Cristofani, Vino e simposio nel mondo etrusco arcaico, in Scarpi 1991, 69–76.
D'Agostino 1998: B. D'Agostino, La non-polis degli Etruschi, in Venticinque secoli dopo l'invenzione della Democrazia. Fondazione Paestum, 125–131.
Danali-Giole 1992: K. Danali-Giole, Dionysos and Peleus: Problems of Interpretation in Athenian Black-figure Vases, Archaiognosia 6.1–2, 1989–90, 109–119.
Daraki 1985: M. Daraki, Dionysos. Parigi.
Dasen 2005: V. Dasen, Jumeaux, jumelles dans l'antiquité grecque et romaine. Kilchberg (Zürich).
Dehl-von Kaenel 1995: C. Dehl-von Kaenel, Die archaische Keramik aus dem Malophoros-Heiligtum in Selinunt. Berlin.
Delivorrias 1984: A. Delivorrias, LIMC II.1 s.v. Aphrodite.
Detienne 1998: M. Detienne, Oublier Delphes entre Apollon et Dionysos, Gradhiva 24, 11–20.
Devereux 1950: G. Devereux, Mohave Indian autoerotic Behavior, The Psychoanalytic Review 37.3, 201–220.
Devereux 1967: G. Devereux, Greek Pseudo-homosexuality and "the Greek Miracle", Symbolae Osloenses 42, 69–92.
Dickie 1995: M.W. Dickie, The Dionysiac Mysteries in Pella, ZPE 109, 81–86.
Dixsaut 1995: M. Dixsaut (éd.), La querelle autour de La naissance de la tragédie. Paris.
Djuric/Simon 1992: M. Djuric/J. Simon (eds.), Nietzsche und Hegel. Würzburg.
Dodds 1951: The Greeks and the Irrational. Berkeley/Los Angeles.
Dowden 1992: K. Dowden, The Uses of Greek Mythology. London.

Durand/Schnapp 1984: J.-L. Durand/A. Schnapp, Boucherie sacrificielle et chasses initiatiques, in Bérard/Vernant 1984, 49–66.
Edmunds 1986: L. Edmunds, Il corpo di Edipo: struttura psico-mitologica, in Gentili/Pietragostini 1986, 237–246.
Ehrhardt 1992: N. Ehrhardt, Athen im 6.Jahrhundert v. Chr. Quellenlage, Methodenprobleme und Fakten, in Heilmeyer 1992, 12–23.
Eitrem 1902: S. Eitrem, Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen. Skrifter udgivne af Videnskabsselskabet i Christiania 1902. II. Historisk-filosofisk Klasse. Christiania.
Faber/Schlesier 1986: R. Faber/R. Schlesier (eds.), Die Restauration der Götter. Antike Religion und Neo-Paganismus. Würzburg.
Fabian/Pellizzer/Tedeschi 1991: K. Fabian/E. Pellizzer/G. Tedeschi (eds.), *Oinera Teuche*. Studi triestini di poesia conviviale. Alessandria.
Fehr 1996: B. Fehr, Kouroi e korai. Formule e tipi dell'arte arcaica come espressione di valori, in Settis 1996, 785–843.
Ferrari 1986: G. Ferrari, Eye-cup, RA 1, 5–20.
Flashar 1985–1990: H. Flashar (ed.), Auseinandersetzungen mit der Antike. Bamberg.
Flashar 1995: H. Flashar (ed.), Altertumswissenschaft in den 20er Jahren. Neue Fragen und Impulse. Stuttgart.
Fowler 1990: R.L. Fowler, U. v.Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, in Briggs-Calder 1990, 489–522.
Frank 1990: S. Frank, Attische Kelchkratere. Eine Untersuchung zum Zusammenspiel von Gefässform und Bemalung. Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 38, Archäologie 37, Band 24. Frankfurt a.M. /Bern/New York/Paris.
Fraser 1935: A.D. Fraser, The Panoply of the Ethiopian Warrior, AJA 39, 35–45.
Friis Johansen 1959–1960: K. Friis Johansen, Eine attische Trinkschale, Acta Archaeologica 30–31, 129–145.
Frontisi-Ducroux 1990: F. Frontisi-Ducroux (ed.), Autour de l'image. Métis 5.1–2.
Frontisi-Ducroux 1991: F. Frontisi-Ducroux, Le dieu masque. Une figure du Dionysos d'Athènes. Paris/Rome.
Frontisi-Ducroux 1995: F. Frontisi-Ducroux, Du masque au visage. Paris.
Frontisi-Ducroux/Vernant 1998: F. Frontisi-Ducroux/J.-P. Vernant, Ulisse e lo specchio. Il femminile e la rappresentazione di sè nella Grecia antica. Roma.
Fuchs 1963: W. Fuchs, Der Apoll vom Belvedere, in Helbig 1963, 170–172.
Gaehtgens 1986: T.W. Gaehtgens (ed.), Johann Joachim Winckelmann 1717–1768. Hamburg.
Gallavotti 1968: C. Gallavotti (ed.), Atti e memorie del 1° Congresso internazionale di Micenologia, Roma 1967. Roma.
Garland 1990: R. Garland, The Greek Way of Life from Conception to Old Age. London.
Gasparri 1986: C. Gasparri in LIMC III.1 s.v. Dionysos, 496–514.
Gavrilaki/Tzifopoulos 1998: I. Gavrilaki/Y. Tzifopoulos, An „Orphic-Dionysiac" Gold *Epistomion* from Sfakaki near Rethymno, BCH 122, 343–355.
Gentili 1995: B. Gentili, Poesia e pubblico nella Gracia antica[3]. Bari.
Gentili/Paioni 1977: B. Gentili/G. Paioni (eds.), Il mito greco. Roma.
Gentili/Perusino 2002: B. Gentili/F. Perusino (eds.), Le orse di Brauron. Pisa.
Gentili/Pietragostini 1986: B. Gentili/R. Pietragostini (eds.), Edipo. Il teatro greco e la cultura europea. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Urbino 1982. Roma.
Gex-Morgenthaler 1993: K. Gex-Morgenthaler, Eretria. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen IX. Rotfigurige und weissgrundige Keramik. Lausanne.
Ghiron-Bistagne 1976: P. Ghiron-Bistagne, Recherches sur les acteurs dans la Grèce antique. Paris.
Golden 1993: M. Golden, Children and Childhood in Classical Athens. Baltimore/London.
Goldhill/Osborne 1994: S. Goldhill/R. Osborne (eds.), Art and Text in ancient Greek culture. Cambridge UP, 1–11 (Introduction).

Graf 1980: F. Graf, Milch, Honig und Wein. Zum Verständnis der Libation im griechischen Ritual, in Perennitas. Studi in onore di A. Brelich. Roma, 211–221.
Graf 1985: F. Graf, Griechische Mythologie. München/Zürich.
Graf 1993: F. Graf, Dionysian and Orphic Eschatology: New Texts and Old Questions, in Carpenter/Faraone 1993, 239–258.
Graf 1996: F. Graf, Gli dei greci e i loro santuari, in Settis 1996, 343–380.
Graf 1997: F. Graf, I culti misterici, in Settis 1997, 309–343.
Greifenhagen 1929: A. Greifenhagen, Eine attische schwarzfigurige Vasengattung und die Darstellung des Komos im VI. Jahrhundert. Königsberg.
Greifenhagen 1971: A. Greifenhagen, Attisch Schwarzfigurige Prachtschalen mit bemalter Standfläche, JdI 86, 80–102.
Greifenhagen 1977: A. Greifenhagen, Mastoi, in Höckmann/Krug 1977, 133–137.
Griffiths 1995: A. Griffiths (ed.), Stage Directions—Essays in Honour of E.W. Handley. London.
Gruben 1996: G. Gruben, Il tempio, in Settis 1996, 381–434.
Gruben 1997: G. Gruben, Naxos und Delos. Studien zur archaischen Architektur der Kykladen, JdI 112, 261–416.
Gründer 1969: K. Gründer, Der Streit um Nietzsches „Geburt der Tragödie". Die Schriften von E. Rohde, R. Wagner, U. v.Wilamowitz-Möllendirff. Hildesheim
Hägg 1992: R. Hägg (ed.), The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods. Athens/Lièges.
Hallager/Vlasakis/Hallager 1992: E. Hallager/M. Vlasakis/B.P. Hallager, New Linear B Tablets from Khania, Kadmos 31.1, 61–87.
Hamdorf 1986: F.W. Hamdorf, Dionysos-Bacchus. Kult und Wandlungen des Weingottes. München.
Hamilton 1992: R. Hamilton, Choes and Anthesteria. Athenian Iconography and Ritual. Ann Arbor (Michigan UP).
Hannestad 1986: L. Hannestad, Two Eye Cups from the Workshop of Lydos, in Böhr/Martini 1986, 41–46.
Hannestad 1996: L. Hannestad, Athenian Pottery in Italy c. 550–540: Beazley and quantitative Studies, in Cronache di archeologia 30 (1991) 1996, 211–216.
Harrison 1907: J. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion. London (Reprint 1980).
Harrison 1912: J. Harrison, Themis. Cambridge.
Hartog 1980: F. Hartog, Le miroir d'Hérodote. Paris.
Heberdey 1919: R. Heberdey, Altattische Porosskulptur. Wien.
Hedreen 1992: G.M. Hedreen, Silens in Attic Black-figure Vase-painting. Myth and Performance. Ann Arbor (Michigan UP).
Heesen 1996: P. Heesen, The J.L. Theodor Collection of Attic Black-figure Vases. Allard Pierson Series 10. Amsterdam.
Heilmeyer 1992: W.-D. Heilmeyer (ed.), Euphronios und seine Zeit. Berlin.
Helbig 1963: W. Helbig, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom I. Tübingen.
Henrichs 1982: A. Henrichs, Changing Dionysiac Identities, in Meyer/Sanders 1982, 137–160.
Henrichs 1984: A. Henrichs, Loss of Self, Suffering, Violence: the Modern View of Dionysus from Nietzsche to Girard, HSCP 88, 205–240.
Henrichs 1985: A. Henrichs, ‚Der Glaube der Hellenen': Religionsgeschichte als Glaubensbekenntnis und Kulturkritik, in Calder/Flashar/Lindken 1985, 263–305.
Henrichs 1985–1990: A. Henrichs, Die Götter Griechenlands-Ihr Bild im Wandel der Religionswissenschaft, in Flashar 1985–1990, 115–162.
Henrichs 1987: A. Henrichs, Myth visualized: Dionysos and his Circle in Sixth-Century Attic Vase-painting, in Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World. Malibu, 92–124.

Henrichs 1995: A. Henrichs, Philologie und Wissenschaftsgeschichte: Zur Krise eines Selbstverständnisses, in Flashar 1995, 423–457.
Höckmann/Krug 1977: U. Höckmann/A. Krug (eds.), Festschrift für Frank Brommer. Mainz a.Rh.
Hoffmann 1994: D.M. Hoffmann (ed.), Nietzsche und die Schweiz. Zürich.
Holzhausen 1998: J. Holzhausen (ed.), *Psychè*-Seele-anima. Festschrift für Karin Alt zum 7.Mai 1998. Stuttgart/Leipzig.
Hommel 1978: H. Hommel, Bocksbeutel und Aryballos. Sitzungsber. Akademie d. Wiss. Heidelberg.
Iozzo 1994: M. Iozzo, Ceramica „calcidese". Nuovi documenti e problemi riproposti. Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia, terza serie II. Roma.
Isler 1977: H.P. Isler, Dinos ionico con delfini in una collezione ticinese, NAC 6, 15–33.
Isler 1978: H.P. Isler, The Meaning of the Animal Frieze in Archaic Greek Art, NAC 7, 7–28.
Isler 1983: H.P. Isler, Zwei chalkidische Vasen in Schweizer Privatbesitz, AntK 26, 17–21.
Isler 1986: H.P. Isler, Un'idria del pittore di London B 76 con il riscatto di Ettore, NAC 15, 95–123.
Isler 1988: H.P. Isler, Review of Brijder 1983, RA, 132–136.
Isler 1994: H.P. Isler, Der Töpfer Amasis und der Amasis-Maler. Bemerkungen zur Chronologie und zur Person, JdI 109, 93–114.
Isler-Kerényi 1969: C. Isler-Kerényi, Nike. Der Typus der laufenden Flügelfrau in archaischer Zeit. Erlenbach-Stuttgart.
Isler-Kerényi 1976: C. Isler-Kerényi, Die Stützfiguren des griechischen Theaters von Iaitas, in Bloesch/Isler 1976, 30–48.
Isler-Kerényi 1984: C. Isler-Kerényi, Boreade oder Eros?, AA, 383–386.
Isler-Kerényi 1987: C. Isler-Kerényi, Hermonax e i suoi temi dionisiaci, in Bérard/Bron/Pomari 1987, 169–175.
Isler-Kerényi 1988: C. Isler-Kerényi, Dickbäuche, Komasten, dionysische Tänzer? Dionysische Ikonographie I, in Christiansen/Melander 1988, 269–277.
Isler-Kerényi 1990a: C. Isler-Kerényi, Identità maschili e femminili intorno a Dioniso nell'opera del Pittore di Amasis. Iconografia dionisiaca III, NAC 19, 59–76.
Isler-Kerényi 1990b: C. Isler-Kerényi, Dionysos con una sposa. Iconografia dionisiaca IV, Métis 5.1–2, 31–52.
Isler-Kerényi 1991a: C. Isler-Kerényi, Dionysos: dio delle donne? Iconografia dionisiaca II, in Berti 1991, 293–307
Isler-Kerényi 1991b: C. Isler-Kerényi, Review of Carpenter 1986, GGA 243, 12–22.
Isler-Kerényi 1993a: C. Isler-Kerényi, Dionysos und Solon. Dionysische Ikonographie V, AntK 36, 3–10.
Isler-Kerényi 1993b: C. Isler-Kerényi, Anonimi ammantati, in Studi sulla Sicilia Occidentale in onore di Vincenzo Tusa. Padova, 93–100.
Isler-Kerényi 1995: C. Isler-Kerényi, Review of Hamilton 1992, Plutarchos 11.2, 15–19.
Isler-Kerényi 1996: C. Isler-Kerényi, Un cratere selinuntino e il problema dei giovani ammantati, Cronache di archeologia 29 (1990) 1996, 49–53.
Isler-Kerényi 1997a: C. Isler-Kerényi, Der François-Krater zwischen Athen und Chiusi, in Oakley/Coulson/Palagia 1997, 523–539.
Isler-Kerényi 1997b: C. Isler-Kerényi, Dionysos im Götterzug bei Sophilos und bei Kleitias. Dionysische Ikonographie VI, AntK 40, 67–81.
Isler-Kerényi 1997c: C. Isler-Kerényi, La madre di Dioniso. Iconografia dionisiaca VIII, AION, 87–103.
Isler-Kerényi 1998: C. Isler-Kerényi, K.O. Müllers Etrusker, in Calder/Schlesier 1998, 239–270.

Isler-Kerényi 1999a: C. Isler-Kerényi, Il cliente etrusco del vaso greco: uno straniero?, in Villanueva Puig/Lissarrague/Rouillard/Rouveret 1999, 445–448.
Isler-Kerényi 1999b: C. Isler-Kerényi, Frauen um Dionysos vom 7.Jahrhundert bis um 540 v.Chr., AA, 553–566.
Isler-Kerényi 1999c: C. Isler-Kerényi, Dionysos, la Thrace, la Mer Noire, Pontica 32, 39–49.
Isler-Kerényi 2000: C. Isler-Kerényi, Review of Carpenter 1997, Gnomon 72, 430–437.
Isler-Kerényi 2002: C. Isler-Kerényi, Artemide e Dioniso: Korai e parthenoi nella città delle immagini, in Gentili/Perusino 2002, 117–138.
Isler-Kerényi 2004: C. Isler-Kerényi, Civilizing Violence. Satyrs on 6th-Century Greek Vases. Fribourg/Göttingen.
Jeanmaire 1951: H. Jeanmaire, Dionysos. Histoire du culte de Bacchus. Paris.
Johansen 1976: F. Johansen, En ostgraesk parfumeflaske fra 6.ahr.f.Kr., Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. 33, 85–108.
Jordan 1988: J.A. Jordan, Attic Black-figured Eye-cups. Ann Arbor.
Kerényi 1988: K. Kerényi, Richard Wagners Beethoven-Festschrift. Eine Vorstufe zu Nietzsches „Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik", in Wege und Weggenossen 2. München/Wien, 159–168.
Kerényi 1994: K. Kerényi, Dionysos. Urbild des unzerstörbaren Lebens. Stuttgart.
Kerényi 1995: K. Kerényi, Antike Religion. Stuttgart.
Kerényi 1996: K. Kerényi, Humanistische Seelenforschung. Stuttgart.
Kerényi 1997: K. Kerényi, Die Mythologie der Griechen I. Die Götter- und Menschheitsgeschichten; II. Die Heroengeschichten. Stuttgart
Kerényi 1998: K. Kerényi, Urbilder der griechischen Religion. Stuttgart.
Keuls 1985: E.C. Keuls, The Reign of the Phallus. New York.
Keuls 1988: E.C. Keuls, The CV, the LIMC and the Beazley Archive Project: Different Data Bases for the Study of Ancient Greek Iconography, Modern Greek Studies Yearbook (Univ. of Minnesota) 4, 213–227.
Kilinski 1978: K. Kilinski II, The Boeotian Dancers Group, AJA 82, 1982, 173–191.
Kilinski 1990: K. Kilinski II, Boeotian Black Figure Vase Painting of the Archaic Period. Mainz.
Kippenberg/Stroumsa 1995: H. Kippenberg/G.G. Stroumsa (eds.), Secrecy and Concealment. Studies in the History of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Religions. Leyden/New York/Köln.
Knauer 1996: E. Knauer, Two cups by the Triptolemos Painter. New light on two Athenian Festivals? AA, 221–246.
Koch-Harnack 1983: G. Koch-Harnack, Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke. Berlin.
Koch-Harnack 1989: G. Koch-Harnack, Erotische Symbole. Lotosblüte und gemeinsamer Mantel auf antiken Vasen. Berlin.
Kolb 1977: F. Kolb, Die Bau-, Religions- und Kulturpolitik der Peisistratiden, JdI 92, 99–138.
Kossatz-Deissmann 1991: A. Kossatz-Deissmann, Satyr- und Mänadennamen auf Vasenbildern, Greek Vases in the Getty Museum 5, 132–197.
Kratzmüller 2003: B. Kratzmüller, Die Inschrift IG II^2 2311 und die ‚Nicht-Möglichkeit' einer Hochrechnung der antiken Vasenproduktion anhand der erhaltenen Panathenäischen Preisamphoren, in Schmaltz/Söldner 2003, 277–279.
Kreuzer 1997: B. Kreuzer, Frühschwarzfigurige Chronologie und der KX-Maler, in Oakley/Coulson/Palagia 1997, 337–344.
Kreuzer 1998: B. Kreuzer, Eine Lekanis in Florenz: Zwei Maler teilen sich die Arbeit, AA, 253–270.
Kruse 1987: B.-A. Kruse, Apollinisch-Dionysisch. Moderne Melancholie und Unio Mystica. Frankfurt a.M.

Kunisch 1990: N. Kunisch, Die Augen der Augenschalen, AntK 35, 20–27.
Kunisch 1996: N. Kunisch, Erläuterungen zur griechischen Vasenmalerei. Köln.
Kunze-Götte 1999: E. Kunze-Götte, Ein besonderer Flügeljüngling archaischer Zeit, AntK 42, 52–62.
Kurtz 1989: D.C. Kurtz (ed.), Greek Vases. Lectures by J.D. Beazley. Oxford.
Kutzner 1986: H. Kutzner, Friedrich Nietzsches Antichristentum und Neuheidentum, in Faber/Schlesier 1986, 88–104.
Lacey 1983: W.K. Lacey, Die Familie im antiken Griechenland. Mainz a.Rh.
Langlotz 1920: E. Langlotz, Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik. Leipzig.
Latacz 1994: J. Latacz, Fruchtbares Ärgernis: Nietzsches „Geburt der Tragödie" und die gräzistische Tragödienforschung, in Hoffmann 1994, 30–45.
Lemos 1991: A.A. Lemos, Archaic Pottery of Chios. The Decorated Styles. Oxford
Licht 1926: H. Licht, Sittengeschichte Griechenlands. Dresden/Zürich.
Lissarrague 1987: F. Lissarague, Un flot d'images. Paris.
Losemann 1998: V. Losemann, Die *Dorier* im Deutschland der dreissiger und vierziger Jahre, in Calder/Schlesier 1998, 313–348.
Maffre 1975: J.-J. Maffre, Collection P. Canellopoulos (VIII): Vases béotiens, BCH 99, 409–520.
Malagardis/Iozzo 1995: N. Malagardis/M. Iozzo, Nuovi documenti del Pittore di Amasis, AE 1995, 185–208.
Mannsperger 1973: D. Mannsperger, Apollon gegen Dionysos. Numismatische Beiträge zu Octavians Rolle als Vindex Libertatis, Gymnasium 80, 381–404.
Masini 1980: F. Masini (ed.), F.W. Nietzsche, La nascita della tragedia ovvero Grecità e pessimismo. Roma.
Massenzio 1995: M. Massenzio, Dioniso e il teatro di Atene. Roma
McGinty 1978: P. McGinty, Interpretation and Dionysos. Method in the Study of a God. The Hague/Paris/New York.
McGovern/Fleming/Katz 1995: P.E. McGovern/S.J. Fleming/S.H. Katz (eds.), The Origins and Ancient History of Wine. OPA Amsterdam.
Mejer 1990: J. Mejer, M.P. Nilsson, in Briggs/Calder 1990, 335–340.
Mercati 1986/87: C. Mercati, Le pissidi attiche figurate. Problemi di forma e decorazione, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia di Perugia 24 (n.s.10), 107–140.
Merkelbach 1988: R. Merkelbach, Die Hirten des Dionysos. Die Dionysos-Mysterien in der römischen Kaiserzeit und der bukolische Roman des Longus. Stuttgart.
Mertens 1979: J.R. Mertens, Some new Vases by Psiax, AntK 22, 22–37.
Meyer/Sanders 1982: B.F. Meyer/E.P. Sanders (eds.), Jewish and Christian Self-Definition III. Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World. London.
Misdrachi-Capon 1989: M. Misdrachi-Capon (ed.), Eros grec. Athens 1989.
Mommsen 1975: H. Mommsen, Der Affecter. Mainz a.Rh.
Montinari 1996: M. Montinari, Nietzsche^{2}. Roma
Moon 1983: W.G. Moon (ed.), Ancient Greek Art and Iconography. Madison.
Moore 1979: M.B. Moore, Lydos and the Gigantomachy, AJA 83, 79–99.
Moraw 1998: S. Moraw, Die Mänade in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5.Jahrhunderts v.Chr. Mainz a.Rh.
Müller 1820: K.O. Müller. Geschichte hellenischer Stämme und Städte I. Orchomenos und die Minyer. Breslau
Müller 1824: K.O. Müller. Geschichte hellenischer Stämme und Städte II. Die Dorier. Breslau
Müller 1841: K.O. Müller, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur. Breslau.
Murray 1987: O. Murray, La legge soloniana sulla *hybris*, AION 9, 117–125.
Murray 1990: O. Murray (ed.), Sympotica. A Symposium on the *Symposion*. Oxford.

Musti 1990: D. Musti, La teoria delle età e i passaggi di *status* in Solone, MEFRA 102, 11–35.
Nenci 1994: G. Nenci, Atene e Sparta, *Ophthalmoi tes Ellados*, Annali dell'Istituto italiano per gli studi storici XII, 1991/1994, 111–121.
Nietzsche 1972: F. Nietzsche, Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe I (ed. by G. Colli and M. Montinari). Berlin/New York.
Nilsson 1900: M.P. Nilsson, Studia de Dionysiis atticis. Diss. Lund.
Nilsson 1941: M.P. Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 5.2.1. München.
Oakley 1994: J.H. Oakley, An Attic Black-figure Eye-cup with Ships around the Interior, AA, 16–23.
Oakley/Coulson/Palagia 1997: J.H. Oakley/W.D.E. Coulson/O. Palagia (eds.), Athenian Potters and Painters. The Conference Proceedings. Oxford.
Oakley/Sinos 1993: J.H. Oakley/R.H. Sinos, The Wedding in Ancient Athens. Wisconsin UP.
Ogden 1996: D. Ogden, Greek Bastardy in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods. Oxford.
Osborne 1996: R. Osborne, Greece in the Making 1200–479 BC. London/New York.
Osborne 1997: R. Osborne, The Ecstasy and the Tragedy: Varieties of Religious Experience in Art, Drama and Society, in Pelling 1997, 187–211.
Otto 1929: W.F. Otto, Die Götter Griechenlands. Frankfurt.
Otto 1933: W.F. Otto, Dionysos. Mythos und Kultus. Frankfurt.
Padgett 2004: J.M. Padgett, The Centaur's Smile: The Human Animal in Early Greek Art. New Haven/London.
Pagliara 1966: C. Pagliara, Il *nomos ton demopoieton* di Solone, Annali dell'Università di Lecce, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia e di Magistero 2 (1964–65), 5–19.
Palmer 1995: R. Palmer, Wine and Viticulture in the Linear A and B Texts of the Bronze Age, in McGovern/Fleming/Katz 1995, 269–285.
Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997: C. Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou, Iero tis Nymphis. Melanomorfés loutrophoroi. Athens.
Parker 1996: R. Parker, Athenian Religion. A History. Oxford.
Parker 1994: V. Parker, Zur absoluten Datierung des Leagros Kalos und der „Leagros-Gruppe", AA 1994, 365–373.
Payne 1931: H. Payne, Necrocorinthia. Oxford.
Pelling 1997: C. Pelling (ed.), Greek Tragedy and the Historian. Oxford.
Pepe 1998: L. Pepe, L'Andromaca di Euripide e i *didyma léktra* nell'Atene del V e IV secolo, Quaderni di storia 47, 133–150.
Peschel 1987: I. Peschel, Die Hetäre bei Symposion und Komos in der attisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei des 6.–4.Jahrh. v.Chr. Europäische Hochschulschriften XXXVIII.13. Frankfurt.
Picard 1962: C. Picard, Études Thasiennes VIII. Les murailles 1. Les portes sculptées à images divines. Paris.
Pipili 1987: M. Pipili, Laconian Iconography of the Sixth Century BC. Oxford.
Privitera 1968: G.A. Privitera, Dioniso nella società micenea, in Gallavotti 1968, 1027–1032.
Privitera 1970: G.A. Privitera, Dioniso in Omero e nella poesia arcaica. Roma.
Pucci 1993: G. Pucci, Il passato prossimo. La scienza dell'antichità alle origini della cultura moderna. Roma.
Raaflaub 1996: K.A. Raaflaub, Solone, la nuova Atene e l'emergere della politica, in Settis 1996, 1035–1081.
Rasmussen/Spivey 1991: T. Rasmussen/N. Spivey (eds.), Looking at Greek Vases. Cambridge UP.

Reibnitz 1992: B. v.Reibnitz, Ein Kommentar zu Friedrich Nietzsche „Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik“ Kap. 1–12. Weimar.
Reibnitz 2000: B. v.Reibnitz, Apollinisch-Dionysisch, in Barck et alii (eds.) Historisches Wörterbuch ästhetischer Grundbegriffe. Stuttgart.
Ricciardelli Apicella 1992: G. Ricciardelli Apicella, Le lamelle di Pelinna, SMSR 58 (n.s. XVI.1), 27–39.
Rohde 1910: E. Rohde, Psyche. Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen. Tübingen.
Rudhart 1962: J. Rudhart, La reconnaissance de la paternité dans la société athénienne, MH 19, 39–62.
Rudhart 1981: J. Rudhart, Du mythe, de la religion grecque et de la compréhension d'autrui, Cahiers Vilfredo Pareto. Revue européenne de sciences sociales 19 N° 58. Genève.
Rumpf 1927: A. Rumpf, Chalkidische Vasen. Berlin/Leipzig.
Säflund 1970: M.-L. Säflund, The East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Vol. XXVII. Göteborg.
Scarpi 1991: P. Scarpi (a cura di), Storie del vino. Homo Edens. Regimi, miti e pratiche dell'alimentazione nella civiltà del Mediterraneo II. Milano.
Schauenburg 1970: K. Schauenburg, Zu attisch schwarzfigurigen Schalen mit Innenfriesen, AntK (7. Beiheft), 33–46.
Schauenburg 1972: K. Schauenburg, Parisurtel und Nessosabentuerd auf attischen Vasen hocharchaischer Zeit, Aachener Kunstblätter, 15–42.
Schauenburg 1974: K. Schauenburg, Athenabüsten des Bowdoinmalers, AA, 149–157.
Schauenburg 1981: K. Schauenburg, Zu einer Kleinmeisterschale in Privatbesitz, AA, 333–343.
Scheffer 1992: C. Scheffer, Boeotian Festival Scenes: Competition, Consumption and Cult in Archaic Black Figure, in Hägg 1992, 117–137.
Schefold 1978: K. Schefold, Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst. München.
Scheibler 1964: I. Scheibler, Exaleiptra, JdI 79, 72–108.
Scheibler 1968: I. Scheibler, Kothon-Exaleiptron. Addenda, AA 389–397.
Scheibler 1983: I. Scheibler, Griechische Töpferkunst. München.
Scheibler 1987: I. Scheibler, Bild und Gefäss. Zur ikonographischen und funktionalen Bedeutung der attischen Bildfeldamphoren, JdI 102, 57–118.
Schindler 1985: W. Schindler, Die Archäologie im Rahmen von Wilamowitz Konzeption der Altertumswissenschaft, in Calder/Flashar/Lindken 1985, 241–262.
Schlerath 1990: B. Schlerath, F. Bopp, in Briggs/Calder 1990, 7–12.
Schlesier 1990a: R. Schlesier, Apopompe, in Cancik/Gladigow/Laubscher 1990, 38–45.
Schlesier 1990b: R. Schlesier, Jane Harrison, in Briggs/Calder 1990, 127–141.
Schlesier 1991: R. Schlesier, Prolegomena to Jane Harrison's Interpretation of Greek Religion, in W.M. Calder III (ed.), The Cambridge Ritualists Reconsidered. Atlanta 1991, 185–226.
Schlesier 1991/92: R. Schlesier, Olympian versus Chthonian Religion, Scripta Classica Israelica 11, 37–51.
Schlesier 1994: R. Schlesier, Der Löwenjunge in der Milch. Zu Alkman, Fragment 56 P. (= 125 Calame), in Bierl/Möllendorff 1994, 19–29.
Schlesier 1995: R. Schlesier, Maskierte Texte. Religiöse Anspielung und Verheimlichung in der griechischen Tragödie, in Kippenberg/Stroumsa 1995, 123–138.
Schlesier 1998a: R. Schlesier, Die Seele des Thiasos, in Holzhausen 1998, 37–72.
Schlesier 1998b: R. Schlesier, „Dieser mystische Gott“. Dionysos im Spiegel von Karl Otfried Müllers Religionstheorie, in Calder/Schlesier 1998, 397–421.
Schmaltz/Söldner 2003: B. Schmaltz/M. Söldner (eds.), Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext. Akten des Internationalen Vasen-Symposions in Kiel 2001. Münster.

Schmitt 1992: J.-C. Schmitt, Die Logik der Gesten im europäischen Mittelalter. Stuttgart.
Schmitt 1977: P. Schmitt, Athéna Apatouria et la ceinture: les aspects féminins des Apatouries à Athènes, Annales 42, 1059–1073.
Schmitt Pantel 1990: P. Schmitt Pantel, Sacrificial Meal and *Symposion*: Two Models of Civic Institutions in the Archaic City?, in Murray 1990, 14–33.
Schmitt Pantel 1993: P. Schmitt Pantel (ed.), Geschichte der Frauen. Antike. Frankfurt/New York/Paris.
Schnapp 1997: A. Schnapp, Le chasseur et la cité. Chasse et érotique en Grèce ancienne. Parigi.
Schreiber 1999: T. Schreiber, Athenian Vase Construction. A Potter's Analysis. Malibu.
Schwarz 1983: G. Schwarz, Addenda zu Beazleys "Aryballoi", OeJh 54, 1983, 27–32.
Seaford 1994: R. Seaford, Reciprocity and Ritual. Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City-State. Oxford.
Seeberg 1964: A. Seeberg, The Wellcome Painter and his Companions, ActaA 35, 29–50.
Seeberg 1965: A. Seeberg, Hephaistos rides again, JHS 85, 102–109.
Seeberg 1971: A. Seeberg, Corinthian Komos Vases. London.
Seeberg 1995: A. Seeberg, From Padded Dancers to Comedy, in Griffiths 1995, 1–12.
Settis 1996: S. Settis (ed.), I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società. 2.1. Una storia greca. Formazione. Torino.
Settis 1997: S. Settis (ed.), I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società. 2.2. Una storia greca. Definizione. Torino.
Settis 2001: S. Settis (ed.), I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società. 3. Una storia greca. I Greci oltre la Grecia. Torino.
Shapiro 1989: H.A. Shapiro, Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens. Mainz a.Rh.
Shapiro 1990: H.A. Shapiro, Old and New Heroes. Narrative, Composition, and Subject in Attic Black-Figure, Classical Antiquity, 113–148.
Shapiro 1995: H.A. Shapiro, Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens. Supplement. Mainz a. Rh.
Shefton 1989: B.B. Shefton, East Greek Influences in Sixth-Century Attic Vase-Painting and Some Laconian Trails, Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum 4 (Occasional Papers on Antiquities 5), 41–72.
Sichtermann 1996: H. Sichtermann, Kulturgeschichte der Klassischen Archäologie. München.
Sidrys/Skiudiene 1999: R.V. Sidrys/R. Skiudiene, A Black-figure Krater with Padded Dancer Scene from Kaunas, Lithuania, AntK 42, 3–8.
Simon 1963: E. Simon, Ein Anthesterien-Skyphos des Polygnotos, AntK 6, 1963, 6–22.
Simon 1976: E. Simon, Die griechischen Vasen. München.
Simon 1980: E. Simon, Die Götter der Griechen[2]. München.
Simon 1992: G. Simon, Der Blick, das Sein und die Erscheinung in der antiken Optik. München.
Sourvinou-Inwood 1991: C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Reading' Greek Culture. Oxford 1991.
Sparkes 1976: B.A. Sparkes, Treading the Grapes, BaBesch 51, 47–56.
Sparkes 1996: B.A. Sparkes, The Red and the Black. Studies in Greek Pottery. London/New York.
Sparkes/Talcott 1970: B.A. Sparkes/L. Talcott, The Athenian Agora XII.1. Black and Plain Pottery. Princeton (N.J.).

Stähli 1999: A. Stähli, Die Verweigerung der Lüste. Erotische Gruppen in der antiken Plastik. Berlin.
Stein-Hölkeskamp 1992: E. Stein-Hölkeskamp, Lebensstil als Selbstdarstellung: Aristokraten beim Symposion, in Heilmeyer 1992, 39–48.
Steinhart 1995: M. Steinhart, Das Motiv des Auges in der griechischen Bildkunst. Mainz a. Rh.
Stibbe 1972: C.M. Stibbe, Lakonische Vasenmaler des 6.Jahrhunderts v.Chr. Amsterdam.
Stibbe 1994: C.M. Stibbe, Dionysiac Symbols on Fifth-Century Laconian Vases, BaBesch 69, 75–85.
Stibbe 1996: C.M. Stibbe, Das andere Sparta. Mainz a.Rh.
Themelis 1992: P.G. Themelis, The Cult Scene on the Polos of the Siphnian Karyatid at Delphi, in Hägg 1992, 49–72.
Tiverios 1976: M.A. Tiverios, O Lydos kai to ergo tou. Athens.
Tuna-Nörling 1995: Y. Tuna-Nörling, Attische Keramik aus Klazomenai. Saarbrücken.
Unte 1990: W. Unte, Karl Otfried Müller, in Briggs/Calder 1990, 310–320.
Versnel 1994: H.S. Versnel, Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion. Transition and Reversal in Myth and Ritual. Leyden/New York/Köln.
Vidali 1997: S. Vidali, Archaische Delphindarstellungen. Würzburg.
Vierneisel/Kaeser 1990: K. Vierneisel/B. Kaeser (eds.), Kunst der Schale, Kultur des Trinkens. München.
Villanueva-Puig 1988: M.-C. Villanueva-Puig, La ménade, la vigne et le vin. Sur quelques types de représentations dans la céramique attique des VIe et Ve siècles, REA 90.1–2, 35–53.
Villanueva Puig/Lissarrague/Rouillard/Rouveret 1999: M.-C. Villanueva Puig/F. Lissarrague/P. Rouillard/A. Rouveret (eds.), Céramique et peintures grecques. Modes d'emploi. Paris
Vogel 1966: M. Vogel, Apollinisch und Dionysisch. Geschichte eines genialen Irrtums. Regensburg.
Walter-Karydi 1973: E. Walter-Karydi, Samische Gefässe des 6.Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Samos 6.1. Bonn.
Webster 1972: T.B.L. Webster, Potter and Patron in Classical Athens. London.
Weiss 1996: C. Weiss, Vasi a forma di scarpa di produzione attica, ionica e della Magna Grecia, in Cronache di archeologia 29 (1990) 1996, 155–169.
White Muscarella 1974: O. White Muscarella (ed.), Ancient Art in the N. Schimmel Collection. Mainz a.Rh.
Wilamowitz 1931–2: U. v.Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Der Glaube der Hellenen. Berlin.
Williams 1996: D. Williams, Refiguring Attic Red-Figure. A Review Article, RA 1996.2, 227–252.
Winckelmann 1764: J.J. Winckelmann, Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums. Dresden, 1764. Reprint Baden-Baden/Strasbourg 1966.
Wittenburg 1984: A. Wittenburg, I Dori di K.O. Müller, AnnPisa 14.3, 1031–1044.
Woodford/London 1980: S. Woodford/M. London, Two Trojan Themes. The Iconography of Ajax carrying the Body of Achilles and of Aeneas carrying Anchises, AJA 84, 25–40.
Yfantidis 1990: K. Yfantidis, Antike Gefässe. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen. Kassel.

MUSEUMS

Alexandria (Egypt) 17047 201 n. 256
Alexandria (Egypt) 17145 201 n. 256
Altenburg 224.2 174 n. 93
Amsterdam 1877 124 n. 99, 145 n. 184, 145 n. 188
Amsterdam 13.367 41 n. 101
Amsterdam 13.814 42 n. 105
Amsterdam, Theodor Coll.34 159 n. 6
Amsterdam, Theodor Coll.43 159 n. 6
Amsterdam, Theodor Coll.48 181 n. 129
Amsterdam, Theodor Coll.49 184 n. 150
Arlesheim (private) 184 n. 151
Athens (ex Volos) 178 n. 117
Athens 534 177 n. 106
Athens 623 40 n. 94
Athens 624 40 n. 94
Athens 640 32 n. 58
Athens 664 24 n. 28, 35 n. 78, 56 n. 190, 57 n. 194, 68 n. 13, 82 n. 38, 91 n. 69, 113 n. 36
Athens 938 37 n. 82
Athens 945 (CC 566) 162 n. 28
Athens 992 (CC 621) 162 n. 28
Athens 1109 33 n. 61
Athens 3680 28 n. 45
Athens 3961 22 n. 19
Athens 15165 (Acr. 587) 70 n. 20
Athens 17873 163 n. 32, 169 n. 62, 201 n. 250
Athens SA 2295 201 n. 253
Athens, Acr. 603a 118 n. 68
Athens, Acr. 607 96 n. 87 and 89
Athens, Acr. 610 92 n. 74
Athens, Acr. 631a 96 n. 90
Athens, Acr. 648 96 n. 87
Athens, Acr. 1534 165 n. 44
Athens, Acr. 2526 118 n. 69
Athens, Agorà AP 1044 178 n. 117
Athens, Agorà P 334 31 n. 55, 65 n. 2, 81 n. 35, 204 n. 272
Athens, Agorà P 4633 145 n. 183
Athens, Agorà P 6059 46 n. 135
Athens, Agorà P 24945 110 n. 17
Athens, Canellopoulos Coll.11 40 n. 95
Athens, ex Kerameikos 25 131 n. 130

Baden, Roš 112 n. 29
Baltimore 48.11 146 n. 193 and 197
Bari 2959 41 n. 101 and 102
Basel BS 424 127 n. 114
Basel Kä 417 203 n. 268
Basel Kä 420 132 n. 131, 148 n. 207, 167 n. 53
Basel L 21 111 n. 26
Basel L 22 112 n. 30
Basel Lu 18 161 n. 20
Basel Lu 20 138 n. 160
Basel, Cahn Coll. 43 n. 106
Berlin (Ionian cup) 185 n. 158
Berlin 731 230 n. 102
Berlin 1686 141 n. 166
Berlin 1690 141 n. 166
Berlin 1695 144 n. 178 and 181
Berlin 1697 145 n. 186
Berlin 1704 153 n. 235
Berlin 1710 149 n. 211
Berlin 1711 149 n. 210
Berlin 1727 35 n. 76, 40 n. 94, 194 n. 214
Berlin 1732 127 n. 114, 128 n. 116, 177 n. 110
Berlin 1755 42 n. 103
Berlin 1766 159 n. 5
Berlin 1798 191 n. 197
Berlin 1800 183 n. 143
Berlin 1803 165 n. 44
Berlin 1904 123 n. 96
Berlin 3151 50 n. 154, 165 n. 42
Berlin 3210 132 n. 135, 11 n. 143
Berlin 3364 39 n. 90
Berlin 3366 38 n. 87
Berlin 4509 29 n. 47, 34 n. 71
Berlin 31573 (A 32) 10 n. 20, 22 n. 16, 24 n. 27, 34 n. 69, 58 n. 198
Berlin F 2052 151 n. 224, 192 n. 201
Berlin F 4012 200 n. 245

Berlin F 4013 200 n. 245
Berlin WS 4 56 n. 186
Berlin, Univ. 110 n. 17
Birmingham, Univ. 42 n. 103
Bloomington 71.82 137 n. 155
Bochum S 485 145 n. 186
Bologna 29 123 n. 94
Bonn (private) 201 n. 254 and 258
Boston 00.331 144 n. 178
Boston 01.8026 135 n. 152
Boston 01.8037 176 n. 102
Boston 01.8052 148 n. 205, 152 n. 229
Boston 01.8053 146 n. 193 and 194 and 197
Boston 10.651 50 n. 157, 58 n. 198, 188 n. 177, 206 n. 285
Boston 12.422 (F 479) 162 n. 28
Boston 64.1459 54 n. 175
Boston 76.40 116 n. 54 and 56
Boston 98.916 149 n. 211
Boston 98.918 144 n. 180
Boston 98.925 200 n. 245
Boston 99.538 176 n. 102
Boulogne 15 145 n. 183
Boulogne 59 144 n. 178
Boulogne 88 112 n. 29
Boulogne 559 186 n. 166
Boulogne 564 145 n. 183 and 185
Boulogne (private) 147 n. 201
Brindisi 1669 11 n. 24, 25 n. 30, 67 n. 7, 81 n. 35, 127 n. 112
Brooklyn 68.155.12 112 n. 31
Brussels A 135 203 n. 268
Brussels A 715 149 n. 210
Brussels A 1760 55 n. 180
Brussels A 3599 203 n. 268
Brussels A 3645 183 n. 141
Brussels R 401 54 n. 170
Budapest 112 n. 29
Buffalo (NY) G 600 67 n. 9, 81 n. 36, 160 n. 11

Cab.Méd. 192 54 n. 171, 55 n. 183
Cab.Méd. 206 126 n. 109, 196 n. 224
Cab.Méd. 222 134 n. 147, 153 n. 254
Cab.Méd. 314 48 n. 142
Cab.Méd. 320 192 n. 200
Cab.Méd. 322 83 n. 141
Cambridge 30.4 45 n. 120
Cambridge GR 10.1932 112 n. 33
Cambridge GR 12.1937 131 n. 29
Cambridge GR 13.1937 183 n. 146
Cambridge GR 39.1864 (61) 181 n. 130
Cerveteri (ex Villa Giulia 48330) 145 n. 187
Chios 3296 58 n. 197
Chiusi 1806 112 n. 29 and 33
Christchurch N.Z. 56/58 174 n. 93
Cleveland 26.514 184 n. 150
Compiègne 1098 192 n. 202
Copenhagen 64 203 n. 270
Copenhagen 103 33 n. 62
Copenhagen 323 149 n. 210 and 212, 150 n. 218 and 220
Copenhagen 3672 120 n. 79
Copenhagen 5179 133 n. 139, 47 n. 138, 48 n. 146
Copenhagen 7068 112 n. 29
Copenhagen 13966 126 n. 108
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glypt. 3385 83 n. 147, 184 n. 153
Corinth Ph-p-228 100 n. 107
Cracow 30 85 n. 51, 159 n. 7, 187 n. 171

Dallas 1981.170 35 n. 74, 36 n. 79, 188 n. 176, 194 n. 214
Dresden ZV 1466 39 n. 91
Durham 145 n. 183 and 185

Eleusis 471 (837) 141 n. 166
Eleusis 767 109 n. 13

Fiesole, Costantini Coll. 144 n. 178
Florence 3750 162 n. 28
Florence 3773 149 n. 210
Florence 3774 (1845) 149 n. 211
Florence 3790 123 n. 95
Florence 3879 55 n. 183
Florence 3890 42 n. 104, 46 n. 133
Florence 3893 48 n. 142
Florence 4209 56 n. 187 and 190, 76 n. 27, 162 n. 26, 180 n. 125, 198 n. 238
Florence 70995 126 n. 105, 226 n. 74
Florence 81741 28 n. 39
Florence 94354 147 n. 201
Florence V 26 200 n. 245

Geneva I 4 139 n. 162, 141 n. 166
Geneva (market) 177 n. 61
Göttingen 549a (J.11) 34 n. 70, 68 n. 14
Göttingen HU 533g 39 n. 89

Haifa, Maritime Mus. 183 n. 141
Hamburg 1963.21 37 n. 83
Harrogate 124 n. 99
Harvard 1925.30.133 34 n. 70
Heidelberg 67.4 149 n. 212
Heidelberg 84 162 n. 28
Heidelberg 229 144 n. 181
Heidelberg 230 145 n. 183
Helgoland, Kropatschek Coll. 42 n. 103
Heraklion 217 48 n. 144, 85 n. 48, 97 n. 97, 128 n. 115
Histria V 10048 46 n. 136

Istanbul 4514 67 n. 8

Karlsruhe B 3149 40 n. 94
Kassel Alg 269 58 n. 200
Kassel T 386 149 n. 211
Kassel T 663 177 n. 106
Kaunas Tt 1094 134 n. 144

Leiden 1626 203 n. 267 and 268
Leiden I.1954/2,1 131 n. 129
Leiden PC 36 149 n. 211
Leiden PC 53 149 n. 211
Leiden XVa 3 44 n. 112
Leipzig (Chalcidian cup) 205 n. 282 and 284
Leipzig T 2177 55 n. 181 and 182, 66 n. 6
Leipzig T 3322 149 n. 210
Leipzig T 4225 149 n. 210
London 86.4–1.1324 200 n. 247
London 1836.2–24.42 (B 168) 117 n. 61 and 65 and 67, 121 n. 84
London 1836.2–24.127 (B 210) 142 n. 170
London 1837.6–9.99 (B 149) 146 n. 193 and 197 and 199
London 1843.11–3.40 (B 163) 114 n. 40
London 1846.5–12.1 (B 410) 159 n. 5
London 1848.6–19.5 (B 148) 127 n. 111
London 1849.5–18.10 (B 209) 178 n. 116
London 1865.11–18.40 156 n. 247
London 1867.5–8.962 (B 424) 159 n. 4
London 1867.5–8.1007 (B 425) 147 n. 200, 160 n. 12, 169 n. 63
London 1884.10–11.48 23 n. 22
London 1897.7–27.2 149 n. 211
London 1928.1–17.1 144 n. 178
London 1933.10–26.1 162 n. 28
London 1971.11–1.1 5 n. 1, 56 n. 191, 65 n. 1, 69 n. 19
London A 749 177 n. 109
London B 1 54 n. 174, 56 n. 192
London B 3 55 n. 182
London B 4 54 n. 175
London B 42 91 n. 69, 99 n. 104
London B 46 94 n. 79
London B 103.16 67 n. 10
London B 139 120 n. 78
London B 146 120 n. 78
London B 182 144 n. 178
London B 198 115 n. 48, 116 n. 53, 120 n. 81
London B 202 131 n. 129
London B 213 117 n. 62 and 66, 121 n. 85
London B 256 116 n. 53
London B 332 87 n. 54
London B 376 199 n. 241
London B 601.17 118 n. 70
London E 2 183 n. 142
London E 350 224 n. 62
Los Angeles (private) 144 n. 178
Los Angeles (Silver coll.) 145 n. 188
Los Angeles 50.14.2 (A 5832.50–137) 112 n. 33, 113 n. 34, 195 n. 186
Louvre C 10235 33 n. 61
Louvre C 10519 149 n. 210 and 211
Louvre C 10606 145 n. 188
Louvre C 10634 125 n. 103
Louvre C 10696 149 n. 210
Louvre C 10698 149 n. 211
Louvre C 10700 149 n. 210
Louvre CA 576 45 n. 124, 146 n. 198, 164 n. 38
Louvre CA 1684 48 n. 142
Louvre CA 1919 165 n. 46
Louvre CA 2511 162 n. 28
Louvre CA 2918 188 n. 75
Louvre Cp. 10233 102 n. 116
Louvre E 632 99 n. 103
Louvre E 635 45 n. 118
Louvre E 655 95 n. 80
Louvre E 662 52 n. 162, 54 n. 171, 55 n. 182, 56 n. 192, 101 n. 111
Louvre E 665 54 n. 174 and 175
Louvre E 667 53 n. 167 and 168, 55 n. 177
Louvre E 679 95 n. 83
Louvre E 738 96 n. 86

Louvre E 741 33 n. 61
Louvre E 827 111 n. 25, 124 n. 99
Louvre E 830 149 n. 211
Louvre E 831 153 n. 233
Louvre E 832 149 n. 211
Louvre E 835 145 n. 186, 149 n. 211
Louvre E 837 149 n. 210
Louvre E 838 149 n. 211
Louvre E 840 149 n. 211
Louvre E 841 149 n. 211
Louvre E 842 149 n. 211
Louvre E 844 145 n. 186, 149 n. 211, 150 n. 213
Louvre E 850 149 n. 211
Louvre E 852 153 n. 235
Louvre E 860 100 n. 106, 113 n. 35, 150 n. 218, 150 n. 220 and 221, 160 n. 15
Louvre E 862 149 n. 210
Louvre E 864 149 n. 211
Louvre E 865 149 n. 211
Louvre E 875 96 n. 87
Louvre E 876 93 n. 76, 96 n. 88, 99 n. 102, 101 n. 112, 113 n. 35 and 36, 150 n. 216
Louvre F 3 112 n. 30
Louvre F 5 114 n. 42
Louvre F 32 112 n. 33, 113 n. 34, 145 n. 186
Louvre F 36 131 n. 128
Louvre F 36bis 112 n. 30, 116 n. 59
Louvre F 55 112 n. 29, 145 n. 186
Louvre F 59 115 n. 46
Louvre F 68 58 n. 201, 201 n. 255, 202 n. 261
Louvre F 71 143 n. 173
Louvre F 74 159 n. 6
Louvre F 75 159 n. 7, 188 n. 174
Louvre F 123 184 n. 148
Louvre F 124 192 n. 199
Louvre F 130 180 n. 122
Louvre F 130bis 151 n. 224, 191 n. 167
Louvre F 136 74 n. 93
Louvre F 137 174 n. 94
Louvre F 144 205 n. 282
Louvre F 145 183 n. 142
Louvre F 204 115 n. 48 and 49, 116 n. 52
Louvre F 209 115 n. 46
Louvre F 226 117 n. 61 (twice), 120 n. 77, 145 n. 183
Louvre F 227 145 n. 187
Louvre G 138 224 n. 63
Louvre H 42 200 n. 248
Louvre MNC 674 28 n. 39
Louvre S 1104 22 n. 13
Lyon E 406a 112 n. 31

Madrid 10902 L.62 96 n. 87
Madrid 10909 205 n. 277 and 281
Madrid 10917 145 n. 183
Mainz 88 188 n. 176
Malibu (Bareiss) 144 n. 178
Malibu 82.AE.120 183 n. 144
Malibu 86.AE.113 114 n. 37
Mannheim (ex) 129 165 n. 46
Marseille 7197 112 n. 31
Melos (Greece) 7 n. 9, 44 n. 114, 47 n. 140, 71 n. 22, 78 n. 30, 227 n. 82, 230 n. 100
Mississippi 1977.3.61 117 n. 61 and 63 and 65, 121 n. 85
Montpellier 129 145 n. 183
Montpellier 149bis (S.A.256) 149 n. 211
Munich (skyphos) 165 n. 46
Munich 1383 138 n. 161
Munich 1387 124 n. 99, 145 n. 188
Munich 1394 114 n. 38
Munich 1398 124 n. 99
Munich 1415 178 n. 115 and 119
Munich 1427 149 n. 211
Munich 1430 134 n. 145, 149 n. 211
Munich 1431 100 n. 110, 145 n. 186, 149 n. 212, 150 n. 213 and 217
Munich 1432 134 n. 145, 145 n. 186, 149 n. 212, 150 n. 213
Munich 1441 141 n. 166, 147 n. 203
Munich 1444 152 n. 229
Munich 1447 110 n. 15
Munich 1448 110 n. 20
Munich 1449 110 n. 21
Munich 1513 115 n. 48
Munich 1514 115 n. 48
Munich 1525 115 n. 47, 116 n. 52, 151 n. 222
Munich 1527 116 n. 54
Munich 1531 115 n. 46
Munich 1562 (J 1325) 151 n. 227, 185 n. 161, 199 n. 243
Munich 1564 116 n. 58
Munich 1709 131 n. 129
Munich 1721 185 n. 160
Munich 2014 184 n. 156, 200 n. 245
Munich 2016 49 n. 151, 165 n. 42
Munich 2036 182 n. 133

Munich 2044 28 n. 39, 97 n. 95, 164 n. 40, 171 n. 76, 201 n. 251, 205 n. 280, 206 n. 287
Munich 2163 161 n. 20
Munich 2164 161 n. 20
Munich 2165 161 n. 20
Munich 2167 161 n. 20 and 23
Munich 2170 159 n. 6
Munich 2172 176 n. 105
Munich 2193 176 n. 105
Munich 2212 176 n. 6
Munich 2243 176 n. 105
Munich 2301 176 n. 102, 185 n. 160
Munich 6010 (419) 37 n. 85, 84 n. 45
Munich 6451 134 n. 145
Munich 7414 160 n. 10
Munich 7739 45 n. 121
Munich 8763 137 n. 158
Munich 9408 160 n. 9
Munich 9436 159 n. 8
Munich SL 458 115 n. 51, 116 n. 52
Munich SL 460 124 n. 97

Naples 2725 112 n. 29
Naples 81186 144 n. 80
Naples (laconian cup) 53 n. 167
Naples Stg.172 23 n. 21, 90 n. 63, 151 n. 224, 163 n. 31, 199 n. 242, 202 n. 262, 221 n. 38 and 41
New York 11.210.1 10 n. 21
New York 12.198.4 115 n. 50
New York 14.105.10 123 n. 95
New York 17.230.5 159 n. 7
New York 18.145.15 146 n. 193 and 195 and 196
New York 22.139.22 33 n. 62 and 63
New York 25.78.4 161 n. 21
New York 25.78.6 180 n. 124
New York 26.49 23 n. 23, 195 n. 216
New York 31.11.11 48 n. 147, 49 n. 152, 82 n. 40, 97 n. 96, 144 n. 43, 125 n. 202, 127 n. 133, 153 n. 189
New York 41.162.184 144 n. 180, 145 n. 189
New York 44.11.1 179 n. 121
New York 56.171.7 115 n. 51
New York 56.171.18 114 n. 39, 124 n. 99, 145 n. 188
New York 59.11.17 143 n. 175
New York 59.15 55 n. 179
New York 62.11.11 194 n. 212
New York 1956.171.1 203 n. 209
New York 1980.270 150 n. 215
New York 1981.11.4 203 n. 208
New York 1985.57 132 n. 134, 148 n. 207
New York (private) 144 n. 178
Nicosia C 431 184 n. 151
Nicosia C 440 126 n. 107
Nîmes (cup) 162 n. 28

Omaha, Joslyn Art Mus. 1963.480 126 n. 106
Orvieto, Faina 112 n. 29
Orvieto, Faina 52 144 n. 180
Orvieto, Faina 63 147 n. 201
Orvieto, Faina 2664 (41) 149 n. 212
Orvieto, Mus.Civ. 240 146 n. 193 and 197
Orvieto, Mus.Civ. 594 147 n. 201
Orvieto, Mus.Civ. 1014 146 n. 193 and 197
Oxford (Chian chalice) 58 n. 197
Oxford 234 184 n. 151
Oxford 1885.665 (208) 112 n. 31, 115 n. 51
Oxford 1920.107 82 n. 39
Oxford 1939.118 151 n. 224, 189 n. 186
Oxford 1965.115 115 n. 47 and 48
Oxford 1965.122 143 n. 174, 155 n. 245
Oxford 1974.344 190 n. 188
Oxford G 125 96 n. 85
Oxford G 577 96 n. 85

Palazzolo (Komast cup) 34 n. 70
Palermo V 650 176 n. 102, 180 n. 123
Pesaro (Moccia coll.) 46 n. 137
Philadelphia 2522 149 n. 211
Philadelphia 3442 178 n. 118
Philadelphia MS 3497 117 n. 61 and 63 and 64, 121 n. 85
Prague 80–14 33 n. 62
Pratica di Mare E 1986 54 n. 172

Rhodes (Amphora by the Swing P.) 145 n. 188
Rhodes (Amphora near the Lysippides P.) 112 n. 27 and 31
Rhodes (Attic amphora) 124 n. 99
Rhodes (Rhodian oinochoe) 201 n. 250
Rhodes 10711 56 n. 188

Rhodes 10770 146 n. 195 and 195
Rhodes 11131 50 n. 155, 189 n. 184
Rhodes 12396 58 n. 202, 186 n. 163
Rhodes 15368 182 n. 135
Rhodes 15373 52 n. 62, 101 n. 113
Rhodes 15430 51 n. 159
Rome, Conservatori 39 (69) 149 n. 211
Rome, Conservatori 119 145 n. 186, 149 n. 211, 150 n. 213
Rome, Villa Giulia (Attic eye cup) 174 n. 94
Rome, Villa Giulia (Laconian cup) 56 n. 193
Rome, Villa Giulia (M.488) 116 n. 54
Rome, Villa Giulia (Swing Painter) 145 n. 184
Rome, Villa Giulia (Tyrrhenian amphora) 149 n. 211
Rome, Villa Giulia 772 151 n. 222
Rome, Villa Giulia 773 186 n. 164
Rome, Villa Giulia 912 116 n. 54
Rome, Villa Giulia 25003 112 n. 31
Rome, Villa Giulia 45707 33 n. 63
Rome, Villa Giulia 50410 203 n. 271
Rome, Villa Giulia 50599 183 n. 140
Rome, Villa Giulia 50631 149 n. 210
Rome, Villa Giulia 57231 56 n. 186
Rome, Villa Giulia 64608 182 n. 137

Samos (Fragment of a Laconian cup) 55 n. 178
Samos (Fragments of a Ionian eye cup) 201 n. 257
Samos (Fragment of a Laconian cup) 54 n. 175
Samos (Little Master cup) 201 n. 255
Samos (Rhodian oinochoe) 201 n. 250
Samos K 898 134 n. 144
Samos K 1045 54 n. 175
Samos K 1196 32 n. 59
Samos K 1203 53 n. 167 and 169
Samos K 1280 32 n. 59
Samos K 1445 52 n. 164
Samos K 1960 55 n. 181
Samos K 2522 55 n. 180 and 183
Sassari 2402 149 n. 212
Sparta (Fragment of cup) 52 n. 164
Sparta (Laconian cup) 55 n. 184
St.Louis 13.26 149 n. 211
St.Petersburg 1403 (St.151) 149 n. 211
St.Petersburg 1524 145 n. 85
St.Petersburg B 1966g 33 n. 62
Sydney 47.03 183 n. 147
Syracuse 6028 41 n. 102
Syracuse 10599 149 n. 211
Syracuse 49271 41 n. 101

Taranto (Attic oinochoe) 110 n. 17
Taranto (Siana cup) 43 n. 111
Taranto 4478 42 n. 103
Taranto 20273 49 n. 149
Taranto 20909 54 n. 175
Taranto 50677 41 n. 102
Taranto 52205 42 n. 105
Taranto 110339 46 n. 137
Taranto 110341 41 n. 102
Taranto 110550 33 n. 62
Taranto I.G. 4339 41 n. 101
Taranto I.G. 4408 45 n. 122
Taranto I.G. 4412 48 n. 143, 128 n. 115
Taranto I.G. 4492 49 n. 149
Taranto I.G. 4980 42 n. 105
Tarquinia 625 146 n. 192 and 198
Tarquinia RC 2449 121 n. 84
Tarquinia RC 3003 144 n. 178
Tarquinia RC 3022 145 n. 183
Tarquinia RC 3238 145 n. 183
Tarquinia RC 4194 182 n. 138
Tarquinia RC 4796 117 n. 61 and 66
Thasos 59.106 45 n. 123
Thasos 85.670 33 n. 65
The Hague 608 149 n. 211
Thebes R 50.265 38 n. 86, 40 n. 94
Thera (Little Master cup) 183 n. 143
Toronto 919.5.141 (304) 112 n. 31, 115 n. 50
Tübingen 4351 (D33) 42 n. 103
Tübingen D 18 115 n. 51

Vathy, *see* Samos
Vatican (Gregoriano Etr.) 17743 131 n. 126
Vatican 224 203 n. 268
Vatican 359 117 n. 61 and 65, 121 n. 83
Vatican 360 115 n. 47, 145 n. 186
Vatican 369a 189 n. 185
Vatican 423 123 n. 94
Vatican G 37 144 n. 178
Vatican, Guglielmi coll. 272 55 n. 181
Vatican, Guglielmi coll. 39518 136 n. 153
Vienna 226 33 n. 63
Vienna 279 201 n. 254 and 258
Vienna 364 102 n. 115

Vienna 1041 203 n. 267
Vienna 3619 96 n. 87
Vienna IV 4399 146 n. 193 and 195 and 197 and 199

Warsaw 142445 149 n. 211
Würzburg 118 23 n. 25, 34 n. 67
Würzburg 168 149 n. 211
Würzburg 176 146 n. 193 and 195
Würzburg 246 114 n. 42
Würzburg 250 112 n. 30
Würzburg 267 115 n. 47 and 50, 116 n. 52
Würzburg 354 (L 164) 204 n. 273, 206 n. 287
Würzburg 427 182 n. 133
Würzburg H 5352 102 n. 116
Würzburg H 5390 28 n. 39
Würzburg HA 115 (L 208) 148 n. 205
Würzburg L 110 21 n. 11, 49 n. 150, 95 n. 81
Würzburg L 259 144 n. 178
Würzburg L 265 47 n. 139, 133 n. 138, 148 n. 207, 150 n. 220
Würzburg L 267 123 n. 96, 124 n. 97
Würzburg L 391 117 n. 61, 198 n. 237
Würzburg ZA 68b 183 n. 145

Zurich (private) Fig. 18
Zurich 3505 19 n. 3
Zurich L 88 12 n. 25
Zurich L 306 185 n. 158

VASES FOLLOWING BEAZLEY

ABV 3 above 108 n. 5
ABV 3.1 108 n. 5
ABV 3.2 108 n. 5
ABV 4.1 108 n. 5
ABV 5.2 108 n. 5
ABV 6 halfway 108 n. 5
ABV 9.7–9 108 n. 5
ABV 10.1 51 n. 160
ABV 10.2 51 n. 160, 110 n. 17
ABV 10.3 110 n. 17
ABV 15f.1–45 109 n. 10
ABV 21.1 109 n. 13
ABV 23–27 31 n. 56
ABV 27f. 32 n. 57
ABV 29–31 34 n. 72
ABV 30.4 37 n. 82
ABV 31–33 32 n. 60, 124 n. 99
ABV 38.1–3 109 n. 9
ABV 43f. 109 n. 12
ABV 49.3 108 n. 5
ABV 56.105 77 n. 106
ABV 78.3 118 n. 70
ABV 82.3 92 n. 74
ABV 91.5 96 n. 79
ABV 100.74 149 n. 211
ABV 101.82 145 n. 186, 149 n. 211
ABV 101.91 149 n. 211
ABV 102.94 149 n. 210
ABV 102.95 149 n. 210
ABV 103.116 149 n. 211
ABV 104.23 96 n. 87
ABV 124.21 96 n. 85
ABV 125.24 96 n. 85
ABV 133.5 112 n. 29
ABV 133.6 112 n. 29
ABV 134.14 112 n. 29
ABV 134.26 112 n. 29
ABV 135.41 112 n. 29
ABV 135.42 114 n. 38
ABV 137.58 112 n. 29
ABV 137.68 96 n. 87
ABV 142 117 n. 61
ABV 142.8 112 n. 30
ABV 143.1 117 n. 62
ABV 181 159 n. 4
ABV 188.2 159 n. 5
ABV 199 above 49 n. 151
ABV 202.1 165 n. 44, 182 n. 133
ABV 203.1, below 174 n. 94
ABV 212–215 172 n. 78
ABV 223 183 n. 147
ABV 261.43 112 n. 31
ABV 265.1 below 112 n. 27, 112 n. 31
ABV 266ff. 112 n. 32
ABV 268.29 112 n. 31
ABV 282.4 115 n. 48
ABV 284.1 131 n. 129
ABV 296ff. 112 n. 32
ABV 297.12 112 n. 30
ABV 300.13 114 n. 42
ABV 303.4 124 n. 99
ABV 325 152 n. 229
ABV 373.171 116 n. 54
ABV 394.3 116 n. 54
ABV 422 halfway 115 n. 47
ABV 422 145 n. 186
ABV 629ff. 184 n. 149

Addenda 3 (12.22) 67 n. 9, 81 n. 96
Addenda 3.1bis 110 n. 17
Addenda 4f. 109 n. 10
Addenda 7 (23) 65 n. 2
Addenda 7 (26.21) 32 n. 58
Addenda 8 (29.1) 35 n. 76
Addenda 8 (30.6) 37 n. 85
Addenda 8 (30.8) 38 n. 86
Addenda 10 (Para 19.16bis) 69 n. 19
Addenda 10 (39.15) 70 n. 20
Addenda 10 (40.16bis) 5 n. 1
Addenda 11 (42.37) 67 n. 8
Addenda 13 (52.16) 182 n. 135
Addenda 15 (56) 177 n. 106
Addenda 21 (76.1) 56 n. 187 and 190, 76 n. 27, 162 n. 26, 180 n. 125, 198 n. 238
Addenda 22 (78.13) 182 n. 136
Addenda 22 (79 Para 30) 50 n. 154
Addenda 22 (81.1 below) 110 n. 15
Addenda 23 (83.4) 195 n. 216
Addenda 24 (Omaha P.) 126 n. 106
Addenda 24 (88) 110 n. 20
Addenda 24 (89.2) 82 n. 39
Addenda 24 (90.1) 93 n. 76
Addenda 25 (95.1) 149 n. 211
Addenda 25 (95.8) 149 n. 210
Addenda 25 (96.10) 149 n. 210
Addenda 25 (96.13) 153 n. 235

Addenda 25 (96.14) 153 n. 235
Addenda 26 (96.21) 145 n. 186, 149 n. 211, 150 n. 213
Addenda 26 (97.27) 149 n. 211
Addenda 26 (97.31) 149 n. 211
Addenda 26 (97.33) 149 n. 211
Addenda 26 (98.34) 149 n. 211
Addenda 26 (98.38) 149 n. 211
Addenda 26 (98.44) 149 n. 211
Addenda 26 (98.45) 149 n. 211
Addenda 26 (98.46) 149 n. 211
Addenda 26 (99.52) 149 n. 211
Addenda 27 (99.61) 149 n. 211
Addenda 27 (100.62) 149 n. 211
Addenda 27 (100.72) 145 n. 186, 149 n. 211, 150 n. 213
Addenda 27 (101.87) 149 n. 211
Addenda 27 (101.92) 149 n. 211
Addenda 27 (102.95) 149 n. 211
Addenda 27 (102.96) 149 n. 212
Addenda 27 (102.98) 145 n. 186, 149 n. 212, 150 n. 213
Addenda 27 (102.99) 145 n. 186, 149 n. 212, 150 n. 213
Addenda 27 (102.100) 149 n. 212
Addenda 27 (102.101) 149 n. 212
Addenda 27 (102.102) 149 n. 211
Addenda 27 (102.104) 149 n. 211
Addenda 27 (102.106) 149 n. 211
Addenda 27 (103.107) 149 n. 211
Addenda 27 (103.108) 153 n. 233
Addenda 27 (103.109) 149 n. 210
Addenda 27 (103.111) 150 n. 18, 150 n. 220
Addenda 27 (103.114) 149 n. 211
Addenda 27 (103.115) 149 n. 211
Addenda 28 (Para 41) 150 n. 215
Addenda 28 (104) 149 n. 210
Addenda 29 (107.1) 96 n. 87, 96 n. 89
Addenda 29 (108.5) 82 n. 40, 97 n. 96
Addenda 29 (108.6) 96 n. 90
Addenda 30 (109.27) 126 n. 109
Addenda 30 (109.28) 126 n. 107
Addenda 30 (109.29) 127 n. 111
Addenda 30 (110.31) 125 n. 103
Addenda 30 (110.32) 126 n. 105
Addenda 30 (110.37) 128 n. 116
Addenda 32 (113.71bis) 48 n. 144
Addenda 32 (113.73) 49 n. 149
Addenda 32 (113.74) 48 n. 143
Addenda 32 (116.9) 180 n. 124
Addenda 33 (119) 126 n. 108
Addenda 33 (119.9) 161 n. 21
Addenda 35 (133.4) 112 n. 29, 145 n. 186
Addenda 35 (133.7) 112 n. 33, 113 n. 34, 145 n. 186
Addenda 36 (134.28) 114 n. 40
Addenda 36 (135.32) 112 n. 29, 112 n. 33
Addenda 36 (135.43) 112 n. 33, 113 n. 34, 145 n. 186
Addenda 36 (136.48) 112 n. 29
Addenda 37 (137.61) 114 n. 39, 124 n. 95, 145 n. 188
Addenda 38 (140.3) 96 n. 87
Addenda 38 (141 below 1) 112 n. 33
Addenda 38 (142.3) 117 n. 61
Addenda 39 (143.2) 117 n. 61
Addenda 39 (144.7) 142 n. 170
Addenda 40 (145.14) 178 n. 118
Addenda 40 (145.19) 178 n. 117
Addenda 41 (146.20) 183 n. 140
Addenda 41 (146.21) 171 n. 76
Addenda 41 (148.9) 178 n. 117
Addenda 42 (150.1) 136 n. 153
Addenda 42 (150.6) 131 n. 128
Addenda 42 (150.7) 138 n. 161
Addenda 42 (150.8) 139 n. 162
Addenda 42 (151.11) 141 n. 166
Addenda 43 (151) 132 n. 131, 137 n. 155, 137 n. 158, 138 n. 160
Addenda 43 (151.21) 132 n. 135, 133 n. 143
Addenda 43 (151.22) 133 n. 138
Addenda 43 (152.25) 134 n. 147
Addenda 44 (152.26) 135 n. 152
Addenda 44 (153) 143 n. 175
Addenda 44 (154.45) 143 n. 174
Addenda 45 (154.49) 143 n. 173
Addenda 45 (155) 194 n. 212
Addenda 46 (156.81) 159 n. 7, 188 n. 174
Addenda 46 (156.84) 85 n. 51, 159 n. 7, 187 n. 171
Addenda 46 (157) 188 n. 176
Addenda 46 (157.85) 188 n. 175
Addenda 46 (157.86) 188 n. 177
Addenda 46 (157.87) 189 n. 185
Addenda 46 (157.89) 189 n. 186
Addenda 48 (168) 159 n. 4
Addenda 50 (181.3) 159 n. 4
Addenda 51 (184) 159 n. 4, 160 n. 12
Addenda 51 (188.1) 159 n. 7
Addenda 53 (198.1) 51 n. 159
Addenda 54 (199.38) 165 n. 46
Addenda 54 (202.2) 181 n. 130
Addenda 55 (202.2) 165 n. 44
Addenda 55 (203.1 above) 23 n. 21, 90 n. 63, 151 n. 224, 163 n. 31,

199 n. 242, 202 n. 262, 221 n. 38 and 41
Addenda 55 (203.2) 163 n. 92
Addenda 55 (203.2 bis) 174 n. 93
Addenda 56 (207) 183 n. 147
Addenda 57 (213.13) 184 n. 151
Addenda 57 (215) 183 n. 147, 184 n. 153
Addenda 60 (231.8) 184 n. 148
Addenda 60 (232.15) 192 n. 199
Addenda 61 (241.23) 146 n. 193
Addenda 61 (241.25ter) 147 n. 202
Addenda 62 (242.35) 148 n. 205
Addenda 62 (243.44) 141 n. 166, 147 n. 203
Addenda 62 (244.46) 146 n. 193
Addenda 63 (245.60) 146 n. 93
Addenda 63 (245.65) 146 n. 92, 146 n. 198
Addenda 63 (245.68bis) 146 n. 193
Addenda 63 (245.69) 146 n. 193
Addenda 63 (246.72) 146 n. 193
Addenda 63 (246.73) 146 n. 193
Addenda 64 (247.89) 146 n. 193
Addenda 64 (247.90) 146 n. 193
Addenda 65 (254.1) 115 n. 48 and 49, 116 n. 52
Addenda 66 (255.12) 112 n. 31
Addenda 66 (255.13) 112 n. 31
Addenda 66 (256.15) 112 n. 31, 115 n. 51
Addenda 67 (256.21) 180 n. 123
Addenda 67 (257.23) 131 n. 129
Addenda 67 (258.3) 112 n. 31
Addenda 67 (258.4) 112 n. 31
Addenda 67 (258.5) 115 n. 50
Addenda 67 (258.10) 115 n. 47 and 50, 116 n. 52
Addenda 67 (258.11) 115 n. 51
Addenda 67 (258.14) 112 n. 31
Addenda 67 (259.15) 115 n. 46
Addenda 67 (259.18) 115 n. 51, 116 n. 52
Addenda 67 (259.20) 112 n. 31
Addenda 67 (259.21) 112 n. 31, 115 n. 50
Addenda 67 (259.25) 112 n. 31
Addenda 68 (262.44) 115 n. 51
Addenda 68 (262.45) 117 n. 61, 198 n. 237
Addenda 68 (262.49) 180 n. 122
Addenda 68 (263.9) 131 n. 129
Addenda 70 (269.49) 115 n. 47 and 48
Addenda 71 (272.90) 115 n. 48
Addenda 72 (275.133) 96 n. 87
Addenda 74 (283.12) 115 n. 48, 116 n. 53, 120 n. 81
Addenda 77 (296.4) 141 n. 166
Addenda 77 (296.8) 114 n. 42
Addenda 79 (304.7) 124 n. 99
Addenda 82 (307.58) 120 n. 79
Addenda 82 (308.66) 117 n. 61, 120 n. 77
Addenda 83 (309.97) 141 n. 166
Addenda 88 (327.1) 116 n. 54
Addenda 92 (336.20) 115 n. 46
Addenda 95 (361.14) 131 n. 129
Addenda 101 (380.296) 183 n. 141
Addenda 101 (384.20) 156 n. 247
Addenda 102 (389) 192 n. 200
Addenda 103 (392.5) 116 n. 54 and 58
Addenda 103 (394.3 below) 116 n. 59
Addenda 145 (630.3) 184 n. 150
Addenda 149 (4.7) 176 n. 102
Addenda 150 (4.12) 176 n. 102
Addenda 150 (5.14) 180 n. 123
Addenda 198 (225.1) 183 n. 142
Addenda 204 (256.2) 224 n. 62
Addenda 315 (1019.82) 225 n. 65

Para 30 (100.73) 149 n. 210
Para 34.2 above 126 n. 106
Para 37 (96.20) 149 n. 211
Para 38 (100.66) 149 n. 211
Para 38 (100.67) 149 n. 211
Para 38 (101.78) 149 n. 211
Para 38 (102.97) 149 n. 210 and 212, 150 n. 218 and 220
Para 39 (102.103) 149 n. 211
Para 39 (102.105) 149 n. 211
Para 39 (103.110) 149 n. 210
Para 39 (103.112) 149 n. 211
Para 40 149 n. 210
Para 40ff. 149 n. 211
Para 41 149 n. 210
Para 42 149 n. 210
Para 44 (112.69) 49 n. 149
Para 46 (115.2) 124 n. 99
Para 48 51 n. 161
Para 51 (125.30) 95 n. 83
Para 58 (142.8) 116 n. 59
Para 85.37 165 n. 46
Para 85.39 165 n. 46
Para 90.1 50 n. 155
Para 93 (203) 174 n. 93
Para 114 (257.2) 112 n. 31
Para 114 (258.9) 112 n. 31
Para 148 (335.6) 115 n. 46

VASES AND OTHER WORKS FOLLOWING LIMC

I, Acheloos 80 225 n. 70
I, Aias I 122 28 n. 38
I, 1, 330 s.v. Aias I 177 n. 113
I, Amphitrite 43 114 n. 37

II, Aphrodite 1092 165 n. 46

III, Dionysos 6 225 n. 70
III, Dionysos 49 22 n. 13
III, Dionysos 55 163 n. 31
III, Dionysos 87 227 n. 78
III, Dionysos 135 225 n. 69
III, Dionysos 285 23 n. 22
III, Dionysos 286 112 n. 29
III, Dionysos 288 112 n. 29
III, Dionysos 294 134 n. 147
III, Dionysos 298 47 n. 138
III, Dionysos 299 127 n. 111
III, Dionysos 300 125 n. 103
III, Dionysos 325 153 n. 233
III, Dionysos 370 226 n. 72
III, Dionysos 405 192 n. 199
III, Dionysos 407 192 n. 200
III, Dionysos 408 132 n. 131
III, Dionysos 409 148 n. 205
III, Dionysos 415 133 n. 138
III, Dionysos 417 145 n. 187
III, Dionysos 425 186 n. 164
III, Dionysos 496 76 n. 27
III, Dionysos 549 99 n. 104
III, Dionysos 552 102 n. 116
III, Dionysos 563 97 n. 96
III, Dionysos 567 82 n. 37
III, Dionysos 593 87 n. 54
III, Dionysos 651 91 n. 93, 225 n. 71
III, Dionysos 701–703 224 n. 64
III, Dionysos 705 224 n. 64
III, Dionysos 708 8 n. 9
III, Dionysos 709 44 n. 112
III, Dionysos 710 45 n. 121
III, Dionysos 711 120 n. 81
III, Dionysos 712 47 n. 138
III, Dionysos 713 150 n. 221
III, Dionysos 714 188 n. 174
III, Dionysos 715 112 n. 33, 113 n. 34
III, Dionysos 756 126 n. 105
III, Dionysos 758 151 n. 227, 185 n. 161
III, Dionysos 763 204 n. 273
III, Dionysos 765 123 n. 94
III, Dionysos 766 123 n. 94
III, Dionysos 768 123 n. 96, 124 n. 97
III, Dionysos 769 124 n. 97
III, Dionysos 774 123 n. 96
III, Dionysos 785 142 n. 170
III, Dionysos 788 171 n. 76
III, Dionysos 805 146 n. 193
III, Dionysos 806 136 n. 153
III, Dionysos 807 138 n. 161
III, Dionysos 809 159 n. 6
III, Dionysos 810 131 n. 130
III, Dionysos 811 131 n. 128
III, Dionysos 812 138 n. 160
III, Dionysos 814 146 n. 193
III, Dionysos 815 146 n. 193
III, Dionysos 848 225 n. 65

III (Add.), Ariadne 156 117 n. 61
III (Add.), Ariadne 159 198 n. 237

IV, Gigantes 2 97 n. 93, 225 n. 71
IV, Gigantes 170–176 96 n. 89
IV, Gigantes 171 97 n. 92
IV 1, 409f., s.v. Halios Geron 2 129 n. 118
IV, Hephaistos 103 a–b 91 n. 68
IV, Hephaistos 114–167 82 n. 41
IV, Hephaistos 129 24 n. 28
IV, Hephaistos 132 56 n. 188
IV, Hephaistos 138a 97 n. 96
IV, Hephaistos 138b 93 n. 76
IV, Hephaistos 139a 159 n. 7
IV, Hephaistos 142a 39 n. 91
IV, Hephaistos 185 73 n. 24
IV, Hephaistos 186 82 n. 37
IV 1, 628ff., s.v. Hephaistos 91 n. 70

V 1, 646f., s.v. Ikarios 45 n. 124
V, Iole I 1 45 n. 118

VII 1, 661 s.v. Samon 39 n. 90
VII, Semele 22 123 n. 96
VII, Semele 35 163 n. 31

VIII Suppl., Mainades 1 163 n. 31
VIII Suppl., Mainades 60 134 n. 144
VIII Suppl., Nymphai 25 82 n. 37
VIII Suppl., Nymphai 41a 203 n. 268
VIII Suppl., Nymphai 42 67 n. 8
VIII Suppl., Nymphai 43 203 n. 271
VIII Suppl., Nymphai 71 204 n. 273
VIII 1 Suppl., 891 s.v. Nymphai 72 n. 23
VIII 1 Suppl., 921 s.v. Oinopion 142 n. 171
VIII 1 Suppl., 1093 s.v. Seirenes 189 n. 180
VIII Suppl., Silenoi 22 82 n. 37
VIII Suppl., Silenoi 25 102 n. 116
VIII Suppl., Silenoi 38 133 n. 138
VIII Suppl., Silenoi 46a 225 n. 65
VIII Suppl., Silenoi 111–119 150 n. 214
VIII Suppl., Silenoi 187 51 n. 161
VIII Suppl., Silenoi 201 227 n. 83
VIII Suppl., Silenoi 202 228 n. 85
VIII Suppl., Silenoi 203 229 n. 91

NAMES

Acheloos 225 n. 70
Achilles 46, 48 n. 142, 51 n. 161, 55 n. 178, 56, 72, 75, 79–82, 87, 92, 94, 101, 104, 177–179
Acropolis 70, 96, 118, 120 n. 82, 153, 154
Adonis 164
Aegina 227
Aeneas 179
Aeschylus 73
Affecter (painter) 115, 140 n. 163, 146–148, 152 n. 229, 157, 222
Africa 58
Agave 175
Agora, *see* Athens
Ajax 28, 48 n. 142, 79, 177–179
Alcaeus 173 n. 87, 182 n. 134
Alcmeon of Croton 173 n. 86
Amasis (potter) 130, 135, 140
Amasis Painter 20 n. 8, 47, 50, 58 n. 198, 85, 98, 114, 124, 125, 127, 128, 130–137, 139, 140, 142–148, 150 n. 220, 151–155, 163, 167, 187–190, 190 n. 190, 191, 194, 195, 197, 206, 211, 216, 222, 224, 225, 228
Amasos 178
Amazons, amazonomachy 51, 96
Amphitrite 71, 77, 114 n. 37
Andokides Painter 176
Anthesteria 122 n. 88
Antilochos 178
Antimenes Painter 112f.
Apaturia 224
Aphaia 227
Aphrodite 21, 44, 71, 74, 77, 85, 86, 96, 118f., 122, 160, 163–165, 199
Apollo 7, 71, 77, 80, 128, 138, 235–254
Arcadia 221 n. 43
Archilochus 173 n. 87
Archon Basileus 122
Ares 71, 74, 77, 89, 128, 129, 131, 177
Argos, Argive 14
Ariadne 8, 44, 85, 112, 115 n. 45, 116 n. 57 and 59, 117–123, 146, 151 n. 227, 161, 169–171, 198 n. 237, 199, 201, 220, 224, 253
Aristophanes 193
Arkesilas Painter 53 n. 169
Artemis 7, 11, 55, 71, 72, 77, 120 n. 82, 122, 143, 154, 156, 188
Athena 15, 43, 71, 77, 82, 86, 90, 116 n. 58, 120, 123 n. 93, 128, 129, 131, 135, 145, 153, 157, 253
Athenaeus 137 n. 157
Athens, Athenian 6f., 13–18, 26f., 29–31, 34, 43, 53, 57, 65f., 68, 74f., 86, 90–92, 96, 100, 103, 105, 107, 118–120, n. 82, 122f., 130, 133, 135 n. 151, 139f., 147, 149 n. 209, 153, 156, 162–165, 168, 171, 173–176, 178, 189, 196 n. 225, 197, 199f., 202, 206f., 209, 216–219, 222f., 225–228, 230–232, 252 n. 136, 253
Athens 533 Painter of 31
Attica 7, 15, 16, 18, 68, 71, 81, 86, 91, 100, 135, 162, 218, 253

Bacchae, *see* Euripides
Basilinna 122f., 252 n. 136
Bellerophon 48 n. 142
Black Sea 58
Boeotia, Boeotian 13, 14, 18, 23, 29, 34–40, 43, 46 n. 126 and 134, 48, 50–52, 55, 59, 62, 66, 68, 84, 103, 132, 155, 189, 194, 196, 241, 243
Boreads 204
Brauron 135 n. 151

C Painter 41–43, 45, 46, 52, 57, 93, 182
Calydon 66, 69
Campania 225 n. 68
Caria, Carian 58
Centaur, centauromachy 10, 45, 70, 72, 77, 94, 101, 201
Chalkis, Chalcidian 174, 202–207
Chania 5
Chariklo 70, 72
Charites 71, 74
Cheiron 70, 72, 77
Chios, Chian 57f., 142
Chiusi 76, 78
Corfu 226f.
Corinth, Corinthian 9–14, 16, 18–37, 39–42, 44, 45, 49, 52, 57–59, 62,

63, 66–68, 82, 85, 91 n. 69, 92, 95, 99f., 102, 105, 113 n. 36, 127, 134 n. 144, 136, 155, 162, 162 n. 28, 189, 193, 196 n. 225, 197, 203, 213, 226
Cortona 51
Crete 22 n. 49
Cyclades, Cycladic 7f., 10, 14–16, 22, 44, 47, 53, 63, 71, 78, 85, 227, 230f.

Delos 7, 253
Delphi 51 n. 161, 97, 217, 225, 228, 231, 240f., 244, 246f., 252f.
Demeter 70, 72, 105, 142, 161 n. 17, 253
Despoina 221 n. 43
Diodorus 219 n. 30
Diomedes 178
Dionysia, Great 222
Dioskouroi 54 n. 173, 119
Dophios 195
Doris 77f.

Eileithyia 71, 73, 74
Eleusis 174 n. 94
Eleuthereus (Dionysos) 222, 228
Elis 222 n. 49
Empedocles 173 n. 86
Enkelados 51 n. 161
Epiktetos 224
Eretria 9
Ergotimos 31, 50, 75, 182
Erichthonios 86
Eris 43 n. 108
Eros, Erotes 21, 54 n. 175, 53, 54, 118, 119, 196 n. 221, 202
Etruria, Etruscan 14, 60 n. 203, 78f., 91, 109 n. 8, 130, 149f., 216, 225 n. 68
Euboea, Euboic 22, 203
Euphorbos 177
Euripides, Euripidean 1, 15, 21 n. 10, 174 n. 92, 223 n. 56, 236
Europe, European 1, 242
Eurytos 45, 99
Exekias 28 n. 39, 51 n. 161, 97, 110, 112, 124, 129, 130, 142, 164, 171–189, 191, 193, 201, 202, 205, 206 n. 287

Fikellura, style 58
Flious 100
France 27
Frogs, *see* Aristophanes

Giants, gigantomachy 51 n. 161, 96f., 103, 104, 120, 121, 125, 129, 153, 216, 219, 224f.
Glyka 162
Gorgo, gorgoneion 27, 44, 35, 181, 184–188, 190–192, 198f., 204
Gorgon Painter 51, 67, 81
Greece, Greeks 5, 7, 9 n. 17, 14f., 27, 51, 57, 59, 60, 76, 91f., 102, 105, 107 n. 8, 172f., 178, 180–182, 189 n. 182, 191 n. 196, 195f., 203, 206f., 209–233, 235–250, 252 n. 129, 252–254

Hades 221
Halios Geron 129, 130 n. 123
Harpyies 204
Hebe 70, 72
Heidelberg Painter 42–52, 57, 62, 78, 85, 95, 110, 113, 126, 133, 146
Hektor 177
Helen 138
Hephaistos 24–26, 39 n. 91, 49, 56 n. 188 and 191, 57, 71, 73, 74, 76, 77, 80, 82–86, 88–92, 93, 96, 97 n. 96, 98f., 102–104, 121, 123, 147, 151 n. 223, 155, 192, 216, 218, 219, 224, 226, 228
Hera 70, 77, 82
Heraion, *see* Samos
Herakles 7, 15, 27, 43, 45f., 48, 51, 56, 66, 69, 99, 101, 112, 119–121, 127–129, 131, 144, 157, 159, 174 n. 94, 177, 182, 185, 198, 219, 221, 229, 232
Heraklion 48f.
Hermes 7f., 48, 71, 77, 80, 87, 96, 115, 116 n. 58, 117, 120, 121, 138, 146, 147, 160f., 164, 169, 195, 199, 204
Hermonax 224
Herodotus 232
Hesiodus 14
Hestia 70, 72
Himeros 118f.
Homer, Homeric 1f., 11, 21 n. 10, 73, 91, 219, 243, 246, 249
Horai 71, 77
Hydra 66

Ialysos, *see* Rhodes
Ikaria 225
Ikarios 45 n. 124, 89, 147, 164, 220 n. 33

Iliad, *see* Homer
Iolaos 129
Iole 45
Ionia, Ionian, Graeco-Oriental 18, 57–59, 67 n. 10, 102, 105, 165, 172, 184, 185 n. 158, 186, 200, 202
Iphikles 119
Iris 70, 72, 77
Italy 27, 41, 200, 203

Kabirion, *see* Thebes
Kalis 166f.
Kalitine 163
Kallis Painter 90 n. 63, 152, 160, 163–165, 171, 174, 180, 183, 185, 186, 191, 201, 202, 212, 221, 230
Kallitime, *see* Kalitine
Kastor, *see* Dioskouroi
Kerameikos 18, 30f., 65, 109, 129 n. 20, 131 n. 130, 171 n. 75, 173, 176
Kleisthenes 176, 179, 223
Kleitias 50, 75–92, 96, 110, 125, 180, 182
Klyka, *see* Glyka
Kolchos 128, 131, 212
Kronos 74
KX Painter 31f.
KY Painter 32f.
Kyknos 128, 129, 131, 157

Laconia, Laconian 13, 36, 52–57, 59, 62, 63, 66, 101f., 105, 110 n. 18, 202, 230f.
Lady of the Lions, *see* Artemis
Lavinium 54
Leagros 217 n. 14
Lenaia 228
Lerna 66
Leto 70, 72, 77
Liknites (Dionysos) 228
Livius, Titus 223 n. 56
Lycurgus (legislator) 215
Lycurgus (mythical king) 175, 224
Lydos 39, 48f., 51 n. 161, 63, 82, 85, 95–98, 110, 114, 124, 125–131, 136, 140, 145, 153, 162, 177, 180, 196, 212, 216, 219
Lysippides Painter 112, 115

Macedonia 137 n. 157, 222 n. 49
Magna Graecia 203, 206f., 222 n. 49, 31
Magnesia 253
Maia 77
Mainades, maenads 98 n. 99, 112, 116 n. 59, 209 n. 1, 223 n. 58, 224, 228 n. 90
Malibu Painter 41
Marsyas 253
Mediterranean 58
Melos, Melian 7 n. 9, 44 n. 114, 47 n. 140, 71 n. 22, 78 n. 30, 227 n. 82, 230 n. 100
Memnon 178 n. 116
Menelaus 177–179
Middle East, *see* Near East
Miletus 9
Minotaur 10, 127
Mistress of Animals, *see* Artemis
Moirai 71, 77f.
Muses 71, 74, 77, 78
Mycenaean 5, 8 n. 15, 71, 232, 249

Naukratis 51, 67 n. 10, 85 n. 49, 118, 253
Naukratis Painter 54 n. 172
Naxos 7 n. 11, 118 n. 67, 122, 151 n. 227, 227
Near East, Eastern, Oriental 9 n. 17, 58, 229, 239, 249
Nearchos 110, 126 n. 106, 143. 159 n. 5, 195, 197
Nebris 197
Neoptolemos 179
Nereids 71
Nereus 77
Nessos 45
Nettos Painter 108 n. 5
Nike 43 n. 108
Nikosthenes 184, 192
Nymphé, Nymphaia 11, 49, 72, 74, 77, 80, 85, 154, 224
see also nymphs (General Index)

Oedipus 175, 191
Oinopion 122, 142 n. 171 and 172, 226
Okeanos 71, 72, 74, 77, 79, 130
Oltos 224
Olympia 227
Olympus, Olympian 24, 26, 69, 72–76, 80, 86, 88–92, 103, 104, 121, 170, 216, 226
Onomacritus 221, 228
Orpheus, orphic, orphism 221 n. 46, 224, 231 n. 104, 245 n. 79, 246f., 249, 253
Orthia, *see* Artemis
Ouranos 74

Palazzolo Painter 31
Panathenaic games 217
Paris 126, 150 n. 214, 179, 204
Paros 7
Patroklos 179
Pausanias 221, 230
Pegasos 48 n. 142
Peisistratos, Peisistratids 218, 220, 223, 228
Peleus 45, 46, 69, 70, 72–75, 77, 88, 91, 93, 95, 96, 103, 104, 129, 153, 216, 219
Pentheus 223 n. 56, 224
Persephone 161, 181 n. 131, 221 n. 46
Perseus 15, 35, 195
Persian (War) 175 n. 97, 176, 223f.
Phineus 204f.
Phobos 129
Pindar 73
Plutarch 244 n. 75
Polos Painter 109
Polydeukes, *see* Dioskouroi
Polyxena 55, 56, 80–82, 86, 87, 92, 94, 101, 104
Poseidon 71, 73, 74, 77, 114 n. 37, 120, 128, 135, 161 n. 17, 183, 253
Priamos 8 n. 57
Promachos, *see* Athena
Prometheus 63, 89, 105
Psiax 198
Psolas 195
Psychopompos, *see* Hermes
Pylos 5

Rhegion 203
Rhitsona 38
Rhodes 40, 50, 58, 101, 112 n. 27, 189, 201 n. 250, 253
Rhodia 80
Rider Painter 55 n. 180 and 181
Roman 239

Samon 39
Samos, Samian 32, 58, 134 n. 144, 200–202, 207
Semele 90, 123 n. 96, 161 n. 21, 164, 171, 174 n. 93, 199, 220, 221, 229
Siana, *see* Rhodes
Sicily 228 n. 90
Silenos 50, 56, 82 n. 37
Sime 166
Siphnos, Siphnian 51 n. 161, 97, 217, 225, 228
Socrates, pre-Socratic 173, 236
Solon 74, 86, 90 n. 64, 90f. 105, 118, 119 n. 74, 215, 218 n. 22, 218, 220, 232
Sophilos 5–7, 24, 31, 42, 45, 51, 56 n. 191, 65, 67 n. 11, 69–79, 81, 91–93, 96, 99, 109 n. 9, 123, 125, 129, 215, 216, 219
Sparta, Spartan 18, 52 n. 163, 53, 54 n. 173, 55, 202, 215, 242 n. 62
Staphylos 122
Swing Painter 115, 120, 144f.

Tanagra 40
Taranto 27, 33, 48
Taras Painter 41
Terpekelos 195
Tethys 71–74
Thasos 229–231
Thebes 39 n. 89
Themis 70–74
Theophrastus 141 n. 167
Theseus 27, 118 n. 67, 122, 127, 135, 144
Thessaly 222 n. 49
Thetis 46, 69, 73–75, 77–79, 103, 121 n. 83, 129, 130, 153, 216, 219
Thrace, Thracian 241, 243, 246, 247, 249
Thucydides 226
Titans 221 n. 43
Tleson 159 n. 5
Triptolemos 142
Triptolemos Painter 224
Triton 182
Troilos 48 n. 142, 55 n. 178, 56, 80, 81f., 84, 87 n. 57, 92–94, 101, 155
Troy, Trojan 74, 80, 177, 178, 180, 232
Tyrrhenian 2, 185

Vari 13, 18f., 65
Volos 179
Vulci 171, 206 n. 287

Xenokles 160, 169, 229 n. 94
Xenophon 116

Yria, *see* Naxos

Zeus 15, 52, 70, 73–75, 77, 88–90, 96, 97, 104, 121 n. 83, 128–130, 161 n. 17, 169, 216, 227

GENERAL INDEX

actor, performer 18, 68, 84
adultery 122, 199
age, groups of, phases of 21, 27, 32, 36f., 40f., 46 n. 134, 48, 53, 55, 60, 60 n. 204, 61, 107f., 111, 113, 126, 137–139, 144f., 147, 181, 213, 214 n. 11, 220, 222, 225
alabastron 12f., 19, 22, 24f.
altar 77, 147
ambrosia 89
ambush 81, 94, 101, 203
amphora, amphoriskos 7, 10, 17, 20 n. 8, 24–26, 47, 49, 56–58, 67f., 79, 82, 85, 95, 98, 107–157, 178f., 185, 196, 203, 217, 226
  Panathenaic 110, 120, 217
  Tyrrhenian 90 n. 62, 100, 109 n. 6f., 134, 148–150, 153 n. 238, 195f.
  represented 79, 137
anakalypsis 77
animal, animal frieze 7, 10–12, 16, 24, 27, 32, 33, 35–37, 43, 48, 54, 62f., 66, 69–72, 83, 88, 94, 95f., 99, 148, 159, 173, 177, 194, 213
animal skin, *see* nebris
ape, *see* monkey
apotheosis 73, 120, 123 n. 96, 185
arbiter, referee 35
archer 138, 229
areté 35, 45, 113, 121, 198
arm, armed, arming, armour, weapon 10, 22, 59, 97, 120, 133, 135, 177–179, 186, 188, 202
aryballos 11, 18 n. 2, 20f., 23 n. 23, 25f., 28 n. 39, 29, 34, 44, 49, 57, 65, 95, 127, 136, 143, 156, 159 n. 5, 190, 193–197
  represented 136, 139, 143, 190, 194
athlet, athletic 9, 19, 21, 32, 35–37, 42, 45, 49, 59, 60f., 70, 95, 112f., 137, 143f., 155, 194, 196
aulos, *see* flute

banquet, banqueter, *see* symposium, symposiast
battle, battlefield 12, 79, 99, 102, 129, 135, 176, 178–180, 188
bear 135 n. 151, 154
beard 10–12, 19, 21 n. 12, 22, 24, 29, 36f., 50f., 53, 54 n. 175, 55, 58, 83f., 93, 95, 101, 110f., 126, 130 n. 123, 137f., 145, 161, 164, 174, 181, 185, 190, 194, 200, 204
bed, *see* kline
belt 12, 117
beret, bonnet 137, 161, 164
betrothal 44, 87, 111
bird 12, 54, 58, 101, 204
birth, childbirth 71, 73–75, 79, 90, 118f., 121–123, 169f., 220, 224, 232
blind, blinding 175
boar 22, 27, 35, 42, 46, 51, 66, 83, 137 n. 157
bonnet, *see* beret
bowl 30
  represented 53
boxer 35f., 194 n. 214
bride, wife 2, 8, 44f., 47, 53, 63, 72f., 77f., 83, 85, 87, 94, 104f., 108, 113f., 119–121, 123, 132, 136, 138, 144, 146 n. 198, 154, 159f., 163, 169f., 214
bridegroom, groom 44, 63, 73, 101, 122, 146, 164
building, house 70–73, 75, 77, 80
bull, ox 51, 55 n. 179, 94, 116 n. 58, 196 n. 225, 247
burial, *see* funeral
bust, *see* protome
buttock 10, 58f., 189

cart, *see* chariot
caryatid 228f.
centaur, centauromachy, Index of Names (Centaur)
chalice 57f.
chariot, quadriga 7, 10, 40, 70–74, 77, 83, 93, 99, 117f., 123, 129, 144, 204
child, childhood, baby, infancy, infantile 19, 56, 68, 72, 75, 90, 118f., 122, 198, 200 n. 244, 218, 224
chimaera 43
chiton, chitoniskos 36, 77f., 114f., 127, 161, 227

chthonian, *see* Underworld
citizen, civic 20, 61f., 83, 87, 90, 108 n. 2, 113f., 119 n. 74, 155, 186, 188, 199, 214 n. 10, 221 n. 39, 233, 252
cloak, *see* mantle
cock, cockerel 43, 48, 54f., 58, 110, 120 n. 80, 165 n. 46
column 120
cooler, *see* amphora
corpse, *see* fallen warrior
cosmos, cosmic, cosmological 11, 16, 34, 52, 74f., 88–90, 92, 97, 103–105, 120f., 129f., 142, 153, 156f., 182, 215, 219, 233
couple 69–74, 77, 93–95, 99, 101, 110, 114, 116, 125f., 131–134, 135 n. 150, 154f., 185–187, 190–192, 194, 196, 128, 204, 205 n. 277
crane 195
craft, craftwork, craftman, artisan 13, 40, 70 n. 20, 83, 90 n. 64 and 65, 92, 155, 218
cudgel, club 12, 22
cup, kylix 6, 27, 30–32, 35, 37f., 40–50, 52–58, 62f., 65f., 68, 78, 85, 93–95, 97–100, 102, 109 n. 6, 111, 113f., 128, 147, 159–193, 201–206, 212f., 216, 220–222, 224, 226, 230
represented 38, 54, 93–95
cup-bearer 20, 35, 53

dance, dancer, dancing 9–14, 16, 18–24, 28–40, 41, 44, 46, 48–51, 53, 57–63, 65, 68f., 82–85, 87–89, 91, 93–96, 98–103, 110–156
female dancer 33, 47f., 58, 63, 82, 85, 100, 114, 125f., 131, 134, 143, 147f., 150, 159, 181f., 186, 188, 192, 203, 216
death 73, 75f., 79, 119, 121f., 129, 141 n. 165, 170, 176f., 179–183, 186f., 191 n. 194, 193, 199, 213, 218, 230, 233
deer 36, 120 n. 82
defecation 55, 188
demotion, dismissal 119f., 125, 199
diadem 28, 50 n. 155, 165
dinos 5f., 13, 18f., 22–24, 31, 38, 42, 45, 51, 52 n. 62, 55 n. 182, 57, 62f., 65–77, 81, 92–94, 96f., 99, 101f., 123, 125, 153, 182, 185 n. 158, 204, 216
represented 38, 53, 102
diphros, stool 54, 191, 198
discus-thrower 35
dog 54, 93, 95, 126, 137f., 188, 192
dolphin 28 n. 39, 177, 180, 182–186, 201f., 210
donkey, *see* mule
drama, theatre, show 18f., 25, 38, 59, 68 n. 15, 82, 151 n. 223, 195, 213, 224 n. 63, 227, 236, 242 n. 62
drinking horn 12, 14, 16, 19, 24, 28, 32–34, 38, 44, 47–49, 50, 53, 57, 59, 63, 66f., 83, 89, 95, 98f., 101f., 112, 115, 117, 126–128, 133, 137f., 141, 156, 166f., 181f., 186–188, 192
duck 3, 101, 201
duel, fight 7f., 12, 27, 73, 93, 97, 99, 101, 128f., 135, 147, 157, 177, 179f., 188

eagle 54
emblem (of a shield) 51
ephebe 21, 27, 48–50, 54f., 61, 69, 81–84, 87 n. 57, 93, 95f., 101, 105, 111, 117, 125, 127, 130f., 133, 136–147, 155–157, 163, 167, 170, 190 n. 190, 192 n. 203, 194, 196, 224
epiphany 98, 110, 137
erastes 21, 49, 54, 61, 87, 196
eromenos 20f., 49, 54, 61, 87 n. 56, 196
eros, erotic 7f., 12, 21, 26, 32f., 36, 38, 40, 43, 51, 54f., 58, 63, 66f., 81f., 85, 87, 103 n. 118, 110, 114, 134f., 143, 149f., 156, 165, 170, 175 n. 100, 189–193, 195f., 198, 200, 202, 204–206, 211
eyes (represented on cups) 171–177, 180f., 183f., 188–193, 196f., 201–206, 216
Evil eye 168

fight, *see* duel
fire 73, 86, 89, 173 n. 86
fish 43, 182, 185
flower 21, 101, 110, 129, 132, 143, 160f., 165 n. 45 and 46, 170, 192 n. 199, 202, 204
flute, aulos 22f., 29, 32, 35, 38, 39 n. 89, 40, 47, 50, 53f., 66, 67 n. 10, 86, 94f., 98, 143, 154 n. 242, 182, 190, 192, 198, 201, 227, 236f.
foot (deformed) 19, 24–26, 28, 56, 91, 98f.

fountain 56, 80f., 86 n. 52 and 54, 101f., 104, 108, 204, 211, 220
fox 137
fruit 25, 101
funeral, funerary, burial 9, 14, 39, 50 n. 155, 70, 75, 141, 163f., 189, 211

garland 50, 189
goat, caprid 24, 34, 94, 116, 121 n. 84, 147, 186
gorgoneion, Index of Names (Gorgo)
grape 24–26, 62, 69, 72, 75, 79, 98, 112, 115, 125f., 132f., 148, 150–152, 160, 166f., 169, 182, 185f., 190–192, 199f., 204, 233
grave, *see* tomb
groom, *see* bridegroom
gyné 86, 122

hair, hairy 21, 24f., 39 n. 68, 54f., 57, 67, 93, 98, 126f., 163, 166, 190, 195, 203f.
happiness 148, 152, 159–207, 222f.
hare, *see* leveret
harvest, *see* vintage
head, *see* protome
hebdomades 60 n. 206
helmet 177f.
hen 58
hetaera 87 n. 54, 100, 116f., 134, 136, 154f., 160–166, 171, 174
hieros gamos 123
himation, *see* mantle
homosexual, homosexuality 37 n. 80, 40, 55, 94, 114, 126f., 128, 134, 145f., 156, 193, 196
honey 89
hoplit 12, 27, 42f., 93f., 99, 101, 135, 147, 172, 178–180, 183, 185f., 188
horse, horse-rider 7, 8 n. 13, 10, 25, 27, 28 n. 39, 42, 43, 54, 56, 70f., 73, 75, 77f., 81–83, 93f., 99, 109f., 113f., 114 n. 37, 120 n. 78, 139, 144, 150 n. 221, 161 n. 17, 166, 183 (seahorse), 183 n. 146, 188, 201
house, *see* building
hunt, hunter, hunting 9, 66, 69, 72, 133f., 137–139, 141, 143f., 155, 194, 201
hydria 50 n. 155, 52 n. 162, 81, 87 n. 54, 101f., 108, 112–114, 117 n. 61, 199, 211
  represented 104, 145

ibex 12
infancy, *see* child
initiation, initiate, initiator 60, 133f., 137, 143, 168 n. 59, 170, 174, 176, 206, 214 n. 10, 221–223, 230, 233
ivy 49f., 96, 98, 111f., 115, 117, 131f., 135–139, 141–143, 145 n. 189, 146f., 153 n. 233, 156, 159, 161, 165–167, 168 n. 59, 170, 181–184, 186, 189–192, 194, 201f., 204f.

jug, oinochoe 6, 51 n. 160, 128f., 131, 143, 155, 177, 189f., 192, 201, 211f.
  represented 12, 24, 28f., 36f., 39, 53, 58, 95, 99, 101, 132, 137, 142, 156, 190

kalathos 228
kantharos 34, 40, 51, 200–202
  represented 7, 28, 32, 36, 38, 40, 54f., 57, 66, 72, 77, 83, 110–112, 115, 118, 131, 133f., 136–139, 141f., 146f., 151, 156, 160f., 165–167, 169 n. 60, 174, 184–186, 189f., 192, 194, 205f., 227, 229
karchesion 32
kithara 22, 116, 236f.
kline, bed 53f., 93, 95, 116, 126, 177, 186, 192, 204, 226
komos, komast 14 n. 31, 32, 49–131, 140, 189, 224
kore, *see* pupil
kothon 23, 33, 35 n. 75
krater 6, 10, 12, 16f., 19, 22–26, 28, 32f., 39, 42, 44f., 47–49, 51, 54, 56–58, 62f., 65–102, 104, 108, 109 n. 6, 110, 113f., 124f., 128f., 134, 150, 162, 174, 177–179, 216
  represented 12, 16, 23f., 28, 55 n. 182, 228
  François krater 25f., 39, 42, 45, 47, 49, 51, 56 n. 187 and 190, 76 n. 27, 93f., 101, 104, 108, 125, 133, 155, 162 n. 26, 180 n. 125, 198 n. 238, 212, 216
kylix, *see* cup

lakaina 52 n. 163
lance, spear 22, 50, 111, 137–139, 190

laurel 201
lebes 70
lekanis, basin 30, 32, 109
lekythos 20 n. 7, 58, 67, 81, 85, 102, 109, 131, 160, 186
leveret 12, 35, 127, 134, 137, 139
lightning 173 n. 87
lion 3, 7, 12, 22, 45, 56, 83, 96, 108, 127, 176, 204f.
lizard 54
loutrophoros 109, 154
love, *see* eros
lyre 32, 40 n. 94, 95, 145 n. 189, 172, 189

maenad, Index of Names (Mainades)
mantle, himation, cloak 111, 114f., 117, 125, 137–139, 143, 160f., 190, 227
marriage, *see* wedding
mask, unmasked 51 n. 161, 78f., 98, 102, 110, 147, 150, 160, 172, 174f., 195, 204f., 225 n. 70, 228
mastos 28, 117 n. 61, 197–200
masturbate 23, 37–39, 50, 143, 150, 159, 189, 192–197
matriarchal 78, 248
matron, matronly 2, 7f., 48f., 63, 72, 77, 82, 85, 87, 94, 104, 108, 111, 113–117, 119–121, 123, 132, 136, 145f., 154, 163, 166, 169f., 187, 199
messenger 70, 72, 138, 161
metamorphosis 20f., 23, 25f., 37f., 39 n. 89, 40, 48, 50f., 55, 61f., 66, 68f., 75, 79, 84, 87f., 93, 103f., 113f., 123, 135, 141, 145, 147, 152, 155f., 170, 174–176, 185–187, 189, 191, 193, 196f., 200, 202, 205, 214, 216, 230, 233
military 27f., 41–45, 47, 53, 60, 113, 133, 135, 137, 144, 147, 165 n. 46, 183, 188, 198, 201
milk 89, 198
mirror, mirrored 46, 50 n. 155, 54, 181, 195
missile, *see* projectile
model, *see* prototype
monkey, ape 152
mother 117–123, 165–167, 169–171, 198f.
mule, donkey, mule-rider 2, 24–26, 29, 35, 39, 49, 53, 56f., 62f., 82 n. 41, 85–88, 91–94, 97–100, 102f., 110, 113, 121 n. 84, 147, 150 n. 222, 151, 159f., 187f., 192, 195, 198, 201, 203, 214, 224
music, musician 9, 23, 47, 66f., 83, 88, 101, 124, 127, 152, 182, 184, 186, 189–191, 191 n. 194, 202, 205, 235–237, 245, 252
mystery, Bacchic mysteries, orgia 168–170, 174f., 182f., 186f., 199f., 202, 206, 221–223, 230, 233, 236, 243

nebris, animal-skin 23, 48, 77, 114, 127, 133f.
necropolis 17, 29, 230
nipple 197
nothos 91 n. 67, 119
nymph, nymphe 2, 26, 39, 44, 49, 66, 70, 72, 80–82, 85–87, 92, 94, 98 n. 99, 102, 104, 108, 114f., 120–125, 127, 134, 147f., 152–155, 159–164, 166–169, 173, 181f., 182 n. 133, 186, 188, 198f., 203–205, 214, 223 n. 58, 227f.
  naked 100, 116, 134 n. 144, 135 n. 150, 136, 160, 191f., 204

oikos 45, 72, 75, 90, 104, 113, 118, 147, 169, 206, 218, 220
oinochoe, *see* jug
ointment, *see* unguent
orgia, *see* mystery
Orphic, orphism, Index of Names (Orpheus)
owl 56, 120
ox, *see* bull

pallake 119 n. 74
palm, *see* tree
palmette 163, 176
panther 36, 48, 96, 120, 134, 204
pantomime 116
paradise 151, 166
parthenos 86, 154 n. 249
pediment 226–228
pelike 156 n. 247
penis, *see* phallus
performance 14, 38, 59, 196
perfume 21
phallus, ithyphallic 12, 19, 25, 29, 37 n. 83, 38f., 47, 49f., 56, 58f., 111, 114, 125, 128, 131, 134, 136, 145, 150 n. 214 and 219, 159, 180, 187, 190–193, 195f., 199f., 227
phiale 28

pinax 118
pirate 2, 185
plate 28f., 30, 44 n. 112, 109
polis 25f., 30, 42, 57, 86–92, 96f., 100, 104, 118–121, 123f., 135f., 138f., 147, 152f., 155, 157, 179, 182 n. 134, 199, 206, 210, 215, 218, 220 n. 36, 221f., 226 n. 77, 229–232
polos 28, 228
pregnancy 90
priest 66
procession, retinue 24–26, 32, 35, 67, 69–80, 83, 88, 94, 98f., 105, 116, 118, 121, 127, 133, 187, 204, 219
projectile, missile 10, 22f., 34, 67, 69
protome, bust
(of Dionysos, of a satyr, of a warrior, female, equine) 7, 22f., 27, 49, 51 n. 160, 96 n. 85, 161 n. 21, 162 n. 28, 163–166, 170, 174 n. 94, 201
protomystes 174 n. 94, 221
prototype, mythological model 8, 11, 44, 56 n. 193, 57, 63, 69f., 72–75, 81, 84, 87, 90f., 95, 97, 100, 103, 110–124, 136, 144, 152 n. 227, 155, 161, 163f., 171, 196, 203f., 220
pursuit, pursuing 46, 57, 67, 80–82, 87, 93, 95, 98, 160, 204
pupil (of the eye) 181
pyxis, tripod-pyxis 23, 34, 36f., 39, 194

quadriga, *see* chariot

ram 147
rape 86 n. 53
retinue, *see* procession
revolution, subversion, subversive 75, 91, 103, 231
rider, *see* horse-rider
see mule-rider
rosette 11f., 18, 21, 32f., 36, 58, 101

sacrifice 23f., 33, 35, 37, 61 n. 209, 63, 89, 94, 116, 142 n. 169, 147, 213
sanctuary 17, 40, 55, 75, 159, 221 n. 43, 227
sandal 190 n. 191
satyr 2, 9–14, 16, 17–63, 65–69, 80–88, 91, 93f., 98–100, 102–104, 159f., 166f., 170, 173, 189–192, 194–197, 198 n. 239, 201, 203–205, 209 n. 1, 213–216, 219, 222–225, 227–230, 232, 244 n. 73 and 74, 245, 247
young, small, diminutive 38f., 127, 136, 152 n. 228, 166, 169, 199, 225
mask of 51 n. 161
without tail 12, 112 n. 29, 113, 132, 145, 166
savage, *see* wild
sceptre 74
sea 43 n. 109, 97, 129f., 180, 182–185, 204
seahorse 183
serpent, *see* snake
sexual, sexuality 1, 58, 83, 86–88, 94, 103f., 116, 124, 126 n. 108, 135, 160, 189f., 193f., 196, 213–216, 223, 232, 244, 251
shield 51, 172, 177f.
ship 97, 172, 182–185, 205
shoe, footwear 54
show, *see* drama
silen, *see* Index of Names (Silenos)
siren 3, 35f., 43, 53, 55, 108, 159, 188f., 205f.
skyphos 9, 22, 28, 30–33, 48–51, 109, 118, 165 n. 46, 170, 187, 189, 197, 203
snake, serpent 54, 96, 98 n. 99, 153 n. 233, 163f., 205, 230
spear, *see* lance
sphinx 3, 11f., 23, 35, 39, 43, 48 n. 144, 95, 108, 125
stone 10, 13, 25
stool, *see* diphros
swan 56, 165
sword 178
symposium, symposiast, banquet, banqueter 9, 14, 17, 19–24, 27–30, 32, 35–38, 40–42, 44–47, 49–59, 61–63, 66, 69f., 73, 76, 79–89, 91–102, 107f., 110f., 113f., 116, 121, 123f., 126, 128, 134, 136f., 139f., 142–144, 147–51, 153, 155f., 160, 162, 164–167, 169f., 172 n. 79, 173, 175, 179, 181–195, 196 n. 225, 197–200, 202–206, 210–216, 218–224, 226f., 233, 252f.

table 53f., 61, 173, 181, 190, 192
tablet (Mycenaean) 5, 8 n. 15
tail 12, 29, 37–39, 67, 71, 77, 113, 166, 194
techne 152, 233
temple 7 n. 11, 70, 75, 77, 226–228
testicle 194
theatre, *see* drama

thiasos 47, 49, 62, 80, 84f., 94, 97f., 107–157, 159f., 172, 188f., 192, 203, 214 n. 10, 216, 221, 223f., 227–229
throne 122, 146 n. 198
thyrsos 227
tomb, grave, sepulchral 14, 38, 50f., 76, 79, 108, 123, 142, 230
tool 83, 147
tragedy, tragic 15, 45, 174–176, 191, 206, 235–238, 243–245, 247–251
trainer 143
treading (the grapes) 132f., 148, 152
treasury 51 n. 161, 97, 217, 225, 228
tree, palmtree 24, 26, 202–204
trick-vase 38, 46 n. 134
tripod 66, 102
tripod-pyxis, *see* pyxis
twin 72, 117–122, 154, 169–171, 198f.

Underworld, chthonian 161, 163f., 166, 169, 181f., 221, 237, 243, 247
unguent, unguent vase, ointment 17–27, 31f., 34, 37, 42, 49, 59, 61–63, 66, 68, 136f., 155, 194 n. 225, 213
represented 95

vegetal 11, 39, 54, 136, 152 n. 229
veil, veiled 94, 111, 113–116, 143
victor, victory 43, 61, 97, 178
vine 24f., 57, 70, 72, 79, 83, 98, 112, 115, 117, 135f., 141f., 146, 152, 155, 156 n. 247, 160, 166f., 169f., 182–186, 190–192, 199, 204, 229, 232f.
vineyard 151 n. 227, 199
vintage, harvest 151f., 166, 169, 192
vortex, *see* whirligig

war, warrior 43, 45, 59f., 80, 97, 99, 112, 133, 135, 137–139, 143f., 147, 174 n. 94, 175, 177–180, 183, 187, 194, 223f., 232
fallen warrior, corpse 101, 129, 177–179
water 70, 76, 80, 86, 87 n. 54, 102, 104, 173 n. 86, 185, 201, 204
weapon, *see* arm
wedding, marriage, nuptial 7, 29, 45, 51f., 63, 69–77, 91–93, 96, 103, 113f., 116, 119, 121–123, 126, 129f., 135, 147, 153f., 157, 190 n. 191, 213, 216, 219
whirligig, vortex 27, 47
wife, *see* bride
wild, wilderness, savage 10–12, 16, 22f., 25–27, 35, 39f., 49, 60–63, 67–69, 75, 81, 83, 86–89, 96–98, 103f., 125, 132–135, 152, 155, 194, 198, 204, 213–215, 222, 231, 233–236
wine 5f., 13f., 16, 18–21, 23–27, 29, 32–34, 36, 38, 53, 55, 57f., 61–63, 67, 69, 72, 75f., 79, 84–86, 88f., 91, 94, 97–103, 107f., 131–133, 136–139, 141–143, 148, 152, 155–157, 167, 170f., 173 n. 87, 175f., 180f., 184f., 191, 193, 198, 200 n. 244, 202, 204, 210, 213–216, 222, 226, 231–233, 247, 248 n. 101, 249
wine-skin 13f., 16, 24, 49, 57, 67, 86–88, 98f., 131, 133, 138f., 142, 156, 187, 192
wing, winged 7, 43, 54, 61, 71, 73, 75, 77f., 161, 184f., 188, 202
wreath, wreathed, crown 12, 44, 53, 58, 95, 115, 126, 128, 131f., 138, 141, 145 n. 189, 146f., 150 n. 219, 151, 159, 161, 165f., 181, 183f., 186, 188, 190, 194, 196, 222

MODERN AUTHORS

Amyx, D.A. 11, 13, 18f., 21–24, 27–29, 99, 100, 162, 196
Andò, V. 72, 80, 86, 107, 163
Angiolillo, S. 5, 45, 120, 147, 220, 222

Bakir, T. 99
Balensiefen, L. 173
Beazley, J.D. 5, 30–32, 34–38, 48f., 50f., 65, 67, 69f., 76, 81f., 85, 92–97, 108–110, 112–118, 120f., 124, 137–143, 145–150, 152f., 156, 159–161, 163, 165, 171f., 174, 176–178, 180–184, 187–189, 192, 194, 196, 198, 211, 217, 224–229
Behler, E. 248
Benson, J.L. 21
Bentz, M. 120, 173, 212
Bérard, C. 2, 93f., 115, 152, 162, 174, 231
Berger, E. 111f., 161
Bernardi, B. 60
Bianchi Bandinelli, R. 238, 240
Bloesch, H. 164f., 171, 179, 182
Boardman, J. 7, 33–35, 37, 41, 54, 58, 109f., 112, 128–130, 146, 148, 159, 172, 180, 188, 190–193, 195–197, 203–205, 217
Böhr, E. 124, 144f.
Borbein, A.H. 238
Bothmer, D.v. 131–139, 141–143, 149, 188
Brandt, H. 217, 219
Briggs, W.W. 250f.
Brijder, H.A.G. 30–34, 41–48, 152
Bron, C. 2, 224, 231
Brook Manville, P. 218–220
Bruit Zaidman, L. 74, 107
Brulé, P. 60, 74, 107, 135
Burkert, W. 6, 170, 221, 249, 252

Calame, C. 45, 54, 61, 63, 72, 103, 114, 122, 136, 154, 156, 175, 191, 196f., 253
Calder, W.M.III 235, 241–245, 248, 250f.
Callipolitis-Feytmans, D. 13, 19, 23, 31, 163–166
Camassa, G. 198
Canciani, F. 109, 149, 153
Cancik, H. 238, 244f., 250
Canfora, L. 249
Cantarella, E. 37, 87, 114, 196
Carpenter, T.H. 1, 5, 14, 67f., 76, 96f., 109f., 118, 124, 140, 154, 209, 213, 223f., 226
Casadio, G. 116, 122f., 246, 253
Castagnoli, F. 54
Coldstream, J.N. 1, 9
Cook, R.M. 40
Cremer, M. 226
Cristofani, M. 60

D'Agostino, B. 109
Danali-Giole, K. 45f.
Daraki, M. 86, 122, 151f., 168, 180, 200
Dasen, V. 119
Dehl-von Kaenel, C. 12, 29, 31
Delivorrias, A. 165
Detienne, M. 253
Devereux, G. 37, 196
Dickie, M.W. 170, 221
Dixsaut, M. 235, 251
Dodds, E.R. 251
Dowden, K. 69
Durand, J.-L. 24

Edmunds, L. 175, 191
Ehrhardt, N. 217f.
Eitrem, S. 118

Faber, R. 253
Fabian, K. 222
Fehr, B. 46, 187
Ferrari, G. 174
Fowler, R.L. 248f.
Frank, S. 129
Fraser, A.D. 178
Friis Johansen, K. 161
Frontisi-Ducroux, F. 2, 171–173, 175f., 180f., 184, 195f.
Fuchs, W. 240f.

Garland, R. 60, 74, 86, 107
Gasparri, C. 5f., 96, 223
Gavrilaki, Y. 221f.

Gentili, B. 69, 90, 135, 154, 182, 186, 193, 212
Gex-Morgenthaler, K. 20
Ghiron-Bistagne, P. 22, 24, 39, 45, 96, 101f., 224
Golden, M. 74
Goldhill, S. 2
Graf, F. 198, 221–223, 231
Greifenhagen, A. 149, 183, 198f.
Gruben, G. 7, 227
Gründer, K. 235, 244f., 248

Hallager, E. 5
Hamdorf, F.W. 137, 142, 160, 162, 192, 209
Hamilton, R. 122, 200
Hannestad, L. 125, 171, 179, 211
Harrison, J.E. 247–249, 252
Hartog, F. 232
Heberdey, R. 227
Hedreen, G.M. 38f., 67f., 84, 110–112, 114–119, 122, 132, 150–152, 189, 195f., 216
Heesen, P. 41f., 159, 181, 184
Henrichs, A. 86, 108, 123, 134, 140, 168, 214
Hommel, H. 194

Iozzo, M. 50f., 187, 203, 205
Isler, H.P. 130, 132–139, 143, 177, 184f., 187, 194, 203, 205
Isler-Kerényi, C. 1, 2, 5–9, 12, 43, 54, 61, 69, 76, 80, 92, 96, 109, 113, 124f., 129, 132–135, 137f., 141, 143, 154, 161, 163–169, 177f., 183f., 196, 200, 206, 213, 224f., 228, 231, 242f.

Jeanmaire, H. 231, 251, 252
Jesi, F. 238
Johansen, F. 190, 192, 196
Jordan, J.A. 183

Kaeser, B., *see* KdS
KdS 27, 31, 41, 49, 54, 123, 129, 142, 152f., 159–161, 165, 176, 182, 184f., 199, 221, 228
Kerényi, K. 22, 63, 69, 73, 89, 237, 252
Keuls, E.C. 2, 37, 86, 119, 161, 170
Kilinski II, K. 34f., 37f., 40
Knauer, E. 224
Koch-Harnack, G. 43, 55, 114, 135, 165
Kolb, F. 1, 92, 218–220, 222, 226, 231
Kossatz-Deissmann, A. 39, 150
Kratzmüller, B. 173, 212
Kreuzer, B. 31, 125
Kruse, B.-A. 236
Kunisch, N. 145, 152, 174–176
Kunze-Götte, E. 54, 67
Kurtz, D.C. 156
Kutzner, H. 238

Lacey, W.K. 220
Langlotz, E. 217
Latacz, J. 236, 244
Lemos, A.A. 58
Licht, H. 189, 196
Lissarrague, F. 152, 172, 182, 184, 190–193, 197, 209
Losemann, V. 242

Maffre, J.-J. 37–40
Malagardis, N. 50, 187
Mannsperger, D. 252
Masini, F. 238
Massenzio, M. 174, 181, 187, 231
McGinty, P. 210, 236–238, 245–248, 250f.
Mejer, J. 250
Mercati, C. 40
Merkelbach, R. 170
Mertens, J.R. 198
Misdrachi-Capon, M. 37
Mommsen, H. 146–148
Montinari, M. 237
Moore, M.B. 96, 125
Moraw, S. 209, 223f.
Müller, K.O. 237, 241–244, 246–248
Murray, O. 37, 108, 218
Musti, D. 60

Nenci, G. 173, 175
Nietzsche, F. 235–238, 241, 244–251
Nilsson, M.P. 250–252

Oakley, J.H. 45, 135, 171, 181–183, 190
Ogden, D. 91, 119
Osborne, R. 2, 90, 135, 218, 223
Otto, W.F. 250f.

Padgett, J.M. 67
Pagliara, C. 90, 218
Palmer, R. 5
Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou, C. 109, 154
Parker, R. 218, 221–223

Parker, V. 217
Payne, H. 30
Pepe, L. 91, 119
Peschel, I. 5, 161, 171
Picard, C. 229f.
Pipili, M. 55f.
Pomari, A. 2
Privitera, G.A. 1f., 5, 8, 11, 14, 122, 173, 244, 248f., 252
Pucci, G. 239

Raaflaub, K.A. 17, 90f., 217–220, 222
Rasmussen, T. 2
Reibnitz, B.v. 235–239, 242–245, 247, 249f.
Ricciardelli Apicella, G. 198
Rohde, E. 244–249
Rudhart, J. 63, 69, 89f., 142
Rumpf, A. 203–205

Säflund, M.-L. 190
Schauenburg, K. 150, 159f., 172, 174, 183f., 186, 195f.
Scheffer, C. 35, 40
Schefold, K. 177, 203
Scheibler, I. 23, 109, 171
Schindler, W. 249
Schlerath, B. 242
Schlesier, R. 174f., 198, 237, 241f., 247f., 253
Schmitt Pantel, P. 61, 117
Schmitt, J.-C. 167
Schmitt, P., *see* Schmitt Pantel
Schnapp, A. 24, 62
Schreiber, T. 70
Schwarz, G. 194
Seaford, R. 119, 122, 135, 214, 218–223, 226, 228, 231
Seeberg, A. 18f., 22–24, 28f., 58, 68, 82, 89, 97f.
Shapiro, H.A. 39, 46, 82, 114, 117f., 123, 142, 170, 217f., 220–222
Shefton, B.B. 183
Sichtermann, H. 237f., 242
Sidrys, R.V. 100
Simon, E. 122f., 203f., 248
Simon, G. 173
Sinos, R.H. 45, 190
Skiudiene, R. 100
Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 2
Sparkes, B.A. 2f., 176, 180, 197, 211, 217
Spivey, N. 2
Stähli, A. 2, 93, 103, 151, 195, 197, 221–225
Steinhart, M. 172, 174f., 177, 193
Stein-Hölkeskamp, E. 44, 61
Stibbe, C.M. 52–56, 66, 101, 230f.

Talcott, L. 197
Themelis, P.G. 227f.
Tiverios, M.A. 48f., 125, 127f., 180
Tuna-Nörling, Y. 96
Tzifopoulos, Y. 221f.

Unte, W. 241

Vernant, J.-P. 2, 93f., 173, 181
Versnel, H.S. 154
Vidali, S. 184
Vierneisel, K., *see* KdS
Villanueva-Puig, M.-C. 87, 102, 108, 209
Vlasakis, M. 5
Vogel, M. 236–238, 245, 252

Walter-Karydi, E. 69, 184–186, 200–202
Webster, T.B.L. 212
Weiss, C. 190
White Muscarella, O. 35
Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U.v. 235, 241, 244f., 248–252
Williams, D. 217
Winckelmann, J.J. 237–243
Wittenburg, A. 242, 244
Woodford, S. 179

Yfantidis, K. 58

FIGURES

1. Cycladic krater. Melos, Archaeological Museum (JHS 22, 1902, 69 fig. 1).

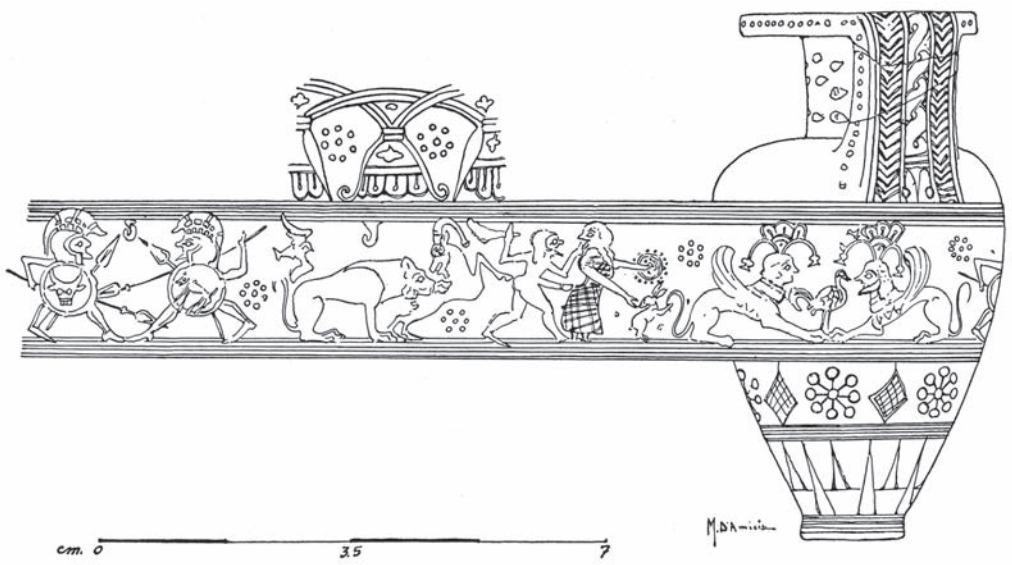
2. Cycladic krater. Melos, Archaeological Museum (JHS 22, 1902, pl. V).

3. Fragment of a geometric vase from Miletus (IM 9/10, 1959/60 pl. 60.2).

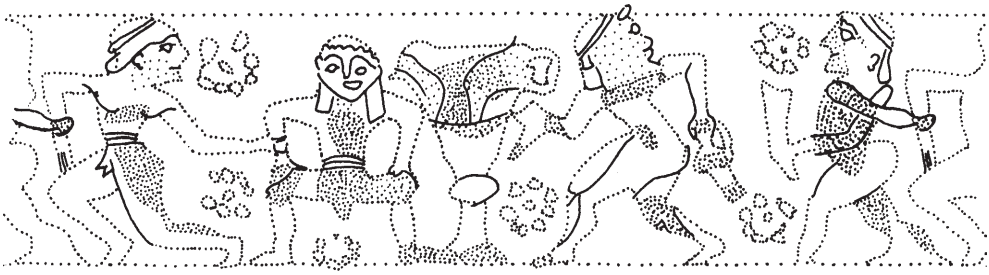
4. Protoattic krater. Formerly Berlin 31573 (A 32) (Photograph of the museum).

5. Protoattic krater. Formerly Berlin 31573 (A 32) (Photograph of the museum).

6. Protoattic amphora. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 11.210.1. Rogers Fund, 1911 (Photograph of the museum).



7. Protocorinthian aryballos. Brindisi 1669 (Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia 1964, 121 fig. 3).



8. Protocorinthian alabastron. Private coll. (Isler-Kerényi 1988, 273 fig. 3).

9. Fragment of a dinos from Vari. Athens (AE 1970, 94).

10. Corinthian aryballos. Zürich, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 3505 (Photograph of the museum, Silvia Hertig).

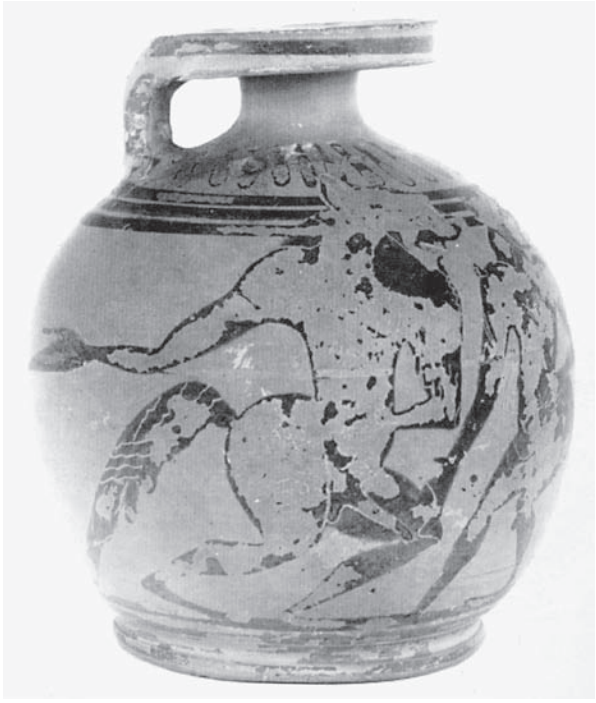
11. Corinthian aryballos. Zürich, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 3505 (Photograph of the museum, Silvia Hertig).

12. Corinthian aryballos. Zürich, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 3505 (CV Zürich 1, Beil.13.1).

13. Corinthian amphoriskos. Athens, National Museum 664 (AM 19, 1894 pl. VIII)

14. Oversized Corinthian aryballos. Würzburg, M.v.Wagner Museum der Universität L 100 (Photograph of the museum).

15. Oversized Corinthian aryballos. Würzburg, M.v.Wagner Museum der Universität L 100 (Photograph of the museum).



16. Corinthian aryballos. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 4509 (Photograph of the museum).

17. Corinthian aryballos. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 4509 (Photograph of the museum).

18. Komast cup. Private collection, Switzerland (Photograph Archäologische Sammlung der Universität, Silvia Hertig)

19. Siana cup. Göttingen, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 549a (J.11) (Photograph of the museum, Stephan Eckardt).

20. Siana cup. Göttingen, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 549a (J.11) (Photograph of the museum, Stephan Eckardt).

21. Boeotian tripod-pyxis. Dallas 1981.170 (White Muscarella 1974, no. 53).

22. Boeotian tripod-pyxis. Athens, National Museum 938 (Photograph of the museum).

23. Boeotian kantharos. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 6010 (419) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. K 1038).

24. Boeotian kantharos. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 6010 (419) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. K 1039).

25. Boeotian kantharos. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 6010 (419) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. K 1037).

26. Trick-vase. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 3366 (Photograph of the museum, Jutta Tietz Glagow).

27. Medallion of a Siana cup. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 7739 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. 1).

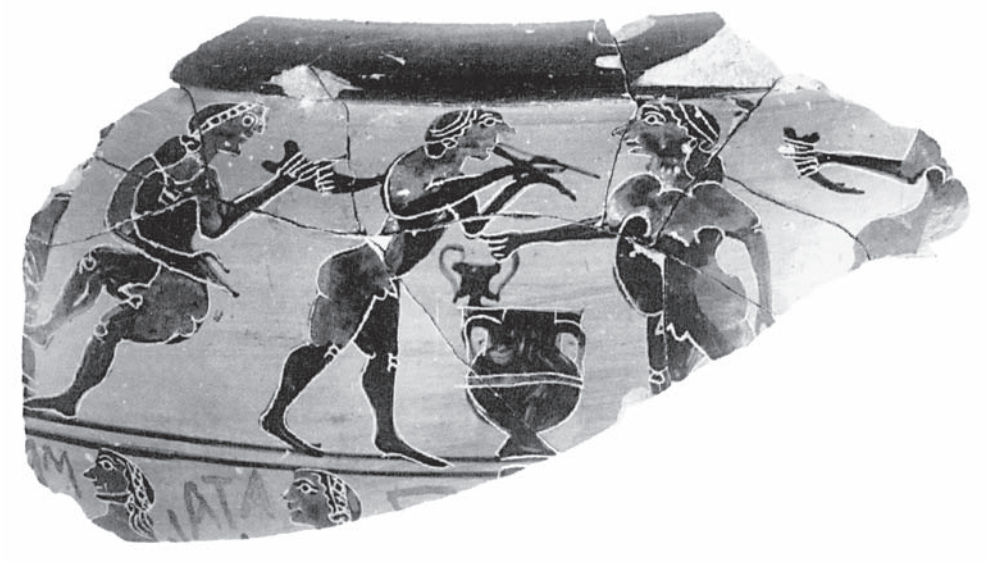
28. Medallion of a Siana cup. Paris, Louvre CA 576 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).

29. Siana cup. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen 5179 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. CV 250).

30. Siana cup. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen 5179 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. D 2074).

31. Merrythought cup. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 3151 (Photograph of the museum, Ingrid Geske).

32. Laconian cup from Lavinium (Castagnoli 1975, 365).

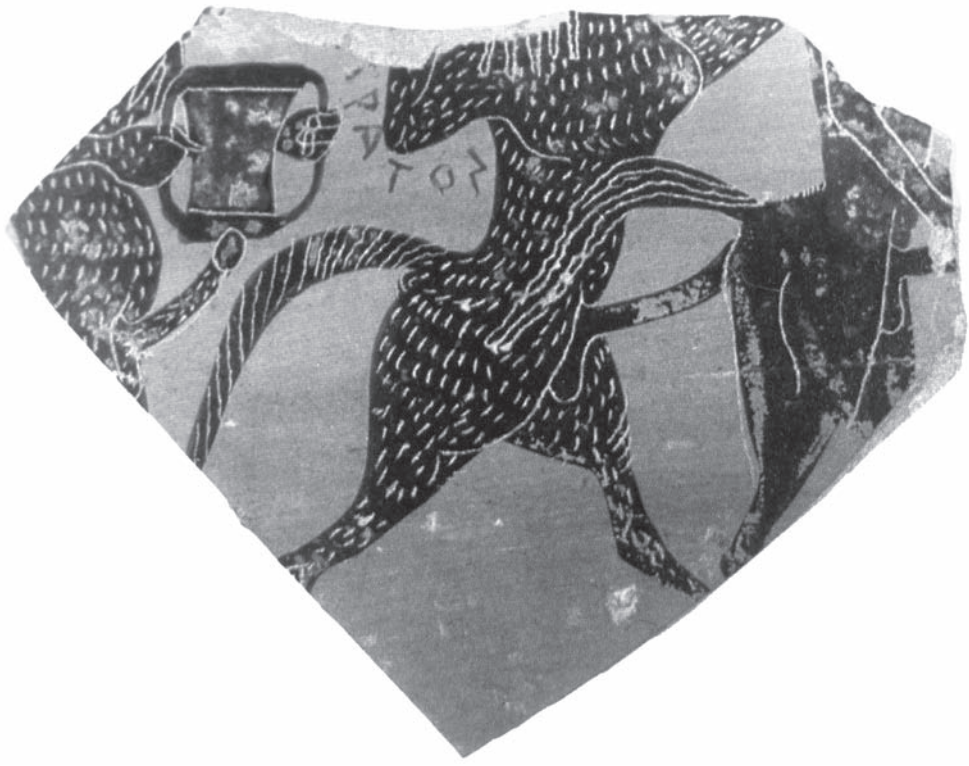


33. Dinos. Athens, Agora P 334 (Photograph Agora Excavations, Gerasim Plaka).

34. Dinos. Athens, Agora P 334 (Photograph Agora Excavations, Gerasim Plaka).

35. Belly lekythos. Buffalo (NY), Albright-Knox Art Gallery G 600, Charles W. Goodyear Fund, 1933 (Photograph of the museum).

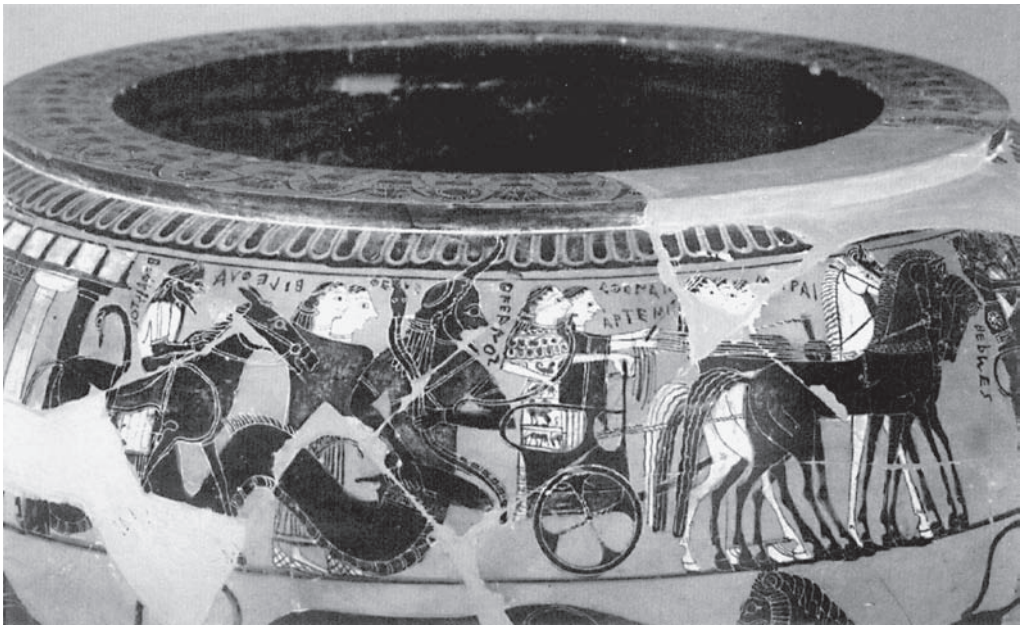
36. Belly lekythos. Buffalo (NY), Albright-Knox Art Gallery G 600, Charles W. Goodyear Fund, 1933 (Photograph of the museum).



37. Fragment of a dinos (?) (Atlantis Antiquities 1988, 55 fig. 48).

38. Dinos by Sophilos. London, British Museum 1971. 11-1.1 (Photograph of the museum).

39. Dinos by Sophilos. London, British Museum 1971. 11-1.1 (Photograph of the museum).

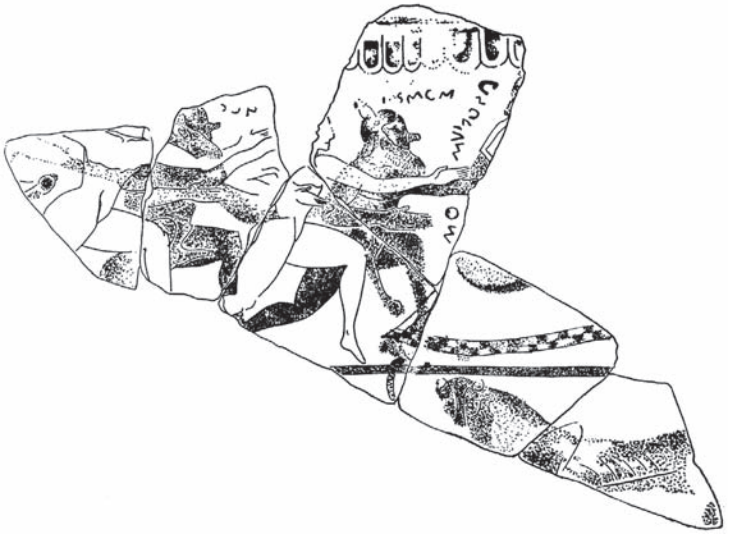


40. Dinos by Sophilos. London, British Museum 1971. 11-1.1 (Photograph of the museum).

KRATER DES KLITIAS UND ERGOTIMOS
ATTISCH ERSTE HÄLFTE DES VI JAHRHUNDERTS VOR CHR
FLORENZ MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO
HAUPTFRIES ZUG DER GÖTTER ZUR HOCHZEIT VON PELEUS UND THETIS

41. François krater, procession of the gods. Florence, Museo archeologico 4209 (FR pl. 1-2).

42. François krater, friezes of Troilos and Hephaistos. Florence, Museo archeologico 4209 (FR pl. 11-12).



43. Fragment of a Corinthian krater from Flious (Hesperia 40, 1971, 411).

44. Amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1447 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. 2926).

45. Amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1447 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. 2925).

46. Amphora. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig L 21
(Photograph of the museum, Claire Niggli).

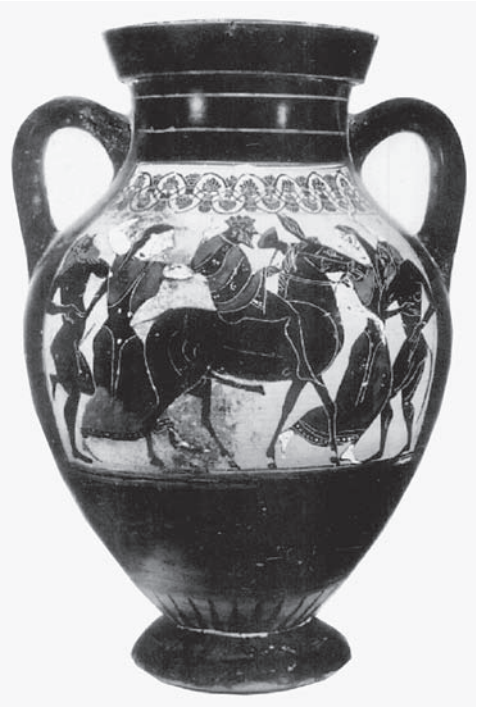
47. Amphora. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen 7068
(Photograph of the museum, Neg. CV 279).

48. Amphora. Paris, Louvre F 32 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).

49. Amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1394 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. WK 7761).

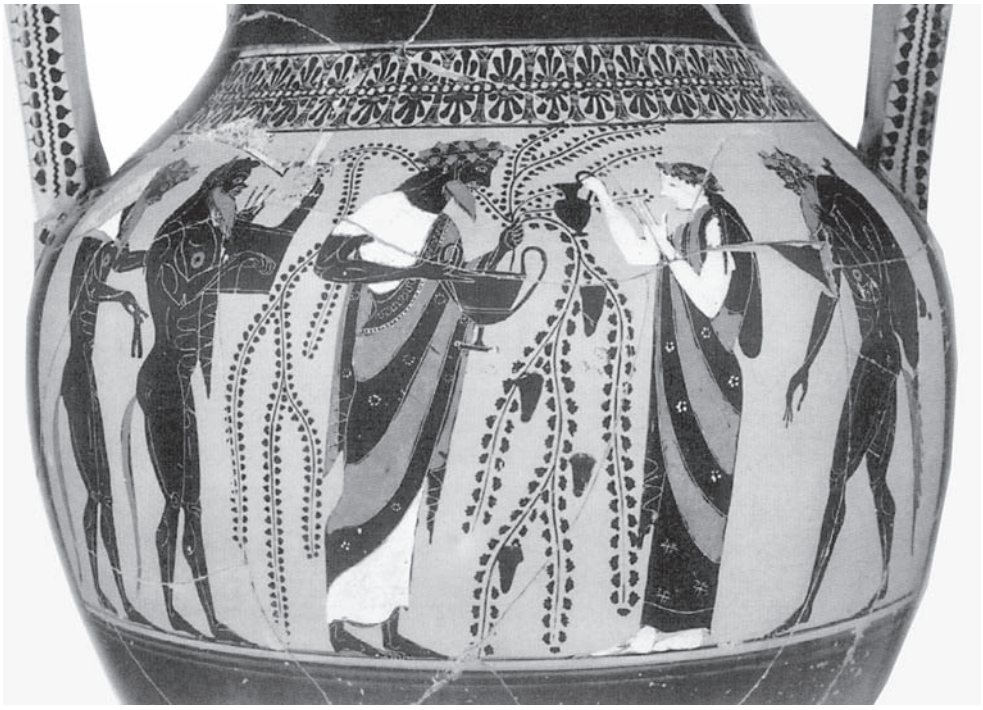
50. Amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1394 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 7760).

51. Amphora. Paris, Louvre F 3 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).

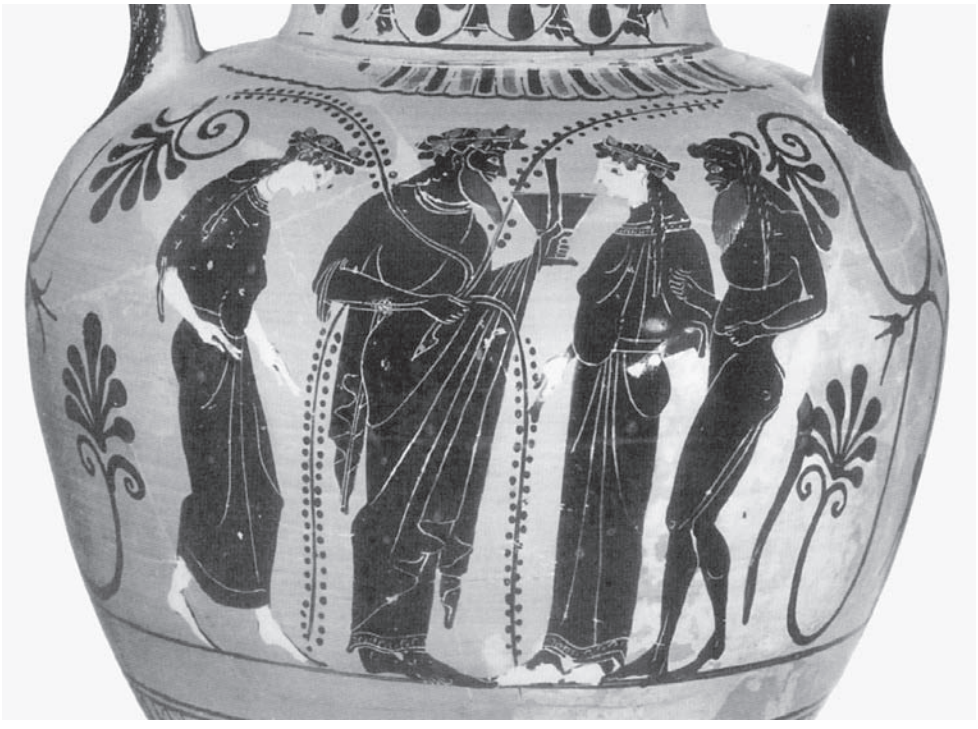


52. Amphora. Paris, Louvre F 3 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).

53. Amphora. Paris, Louvre F 36 bis (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).

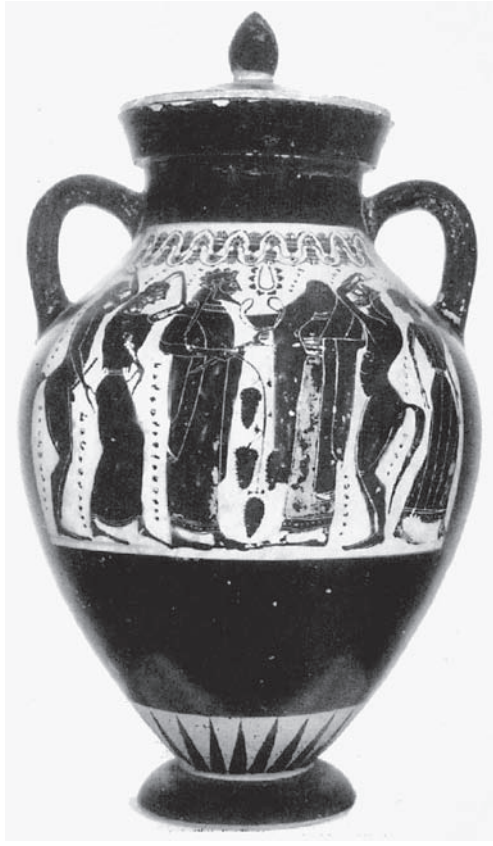


54. Amphora. Paris, Louvre F 204 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).

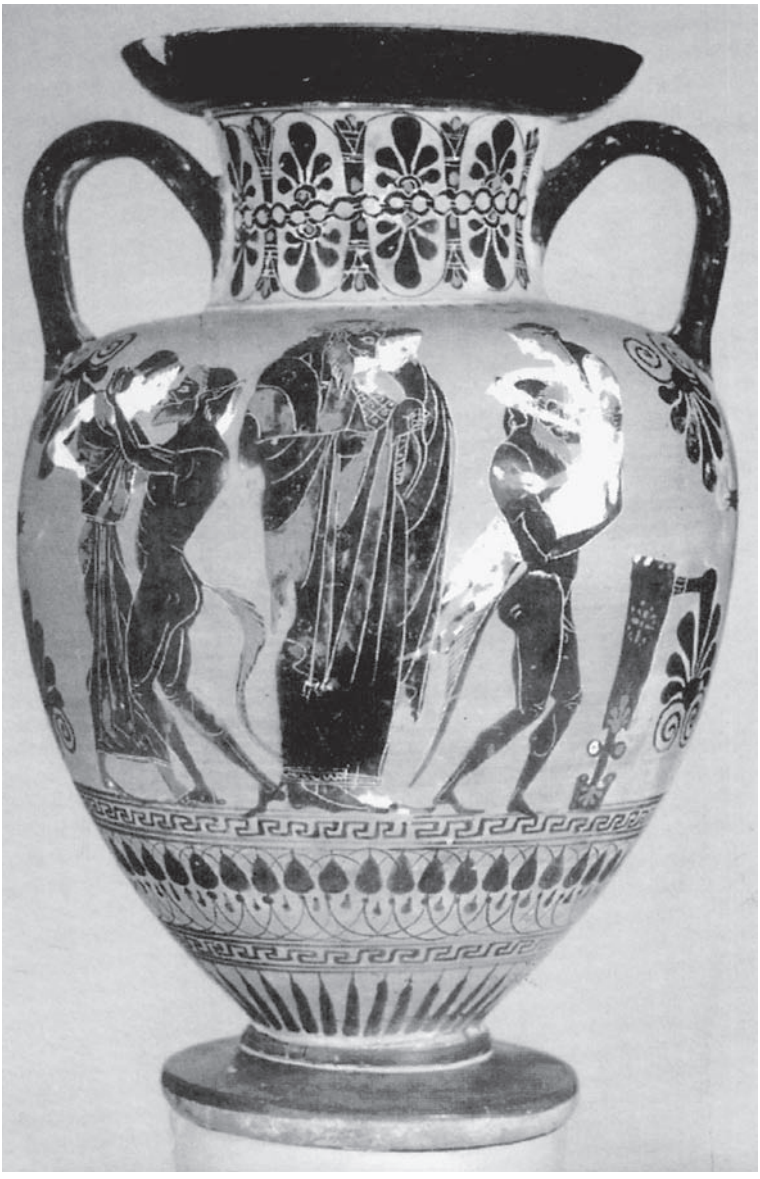


55. Amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1513 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 3116).

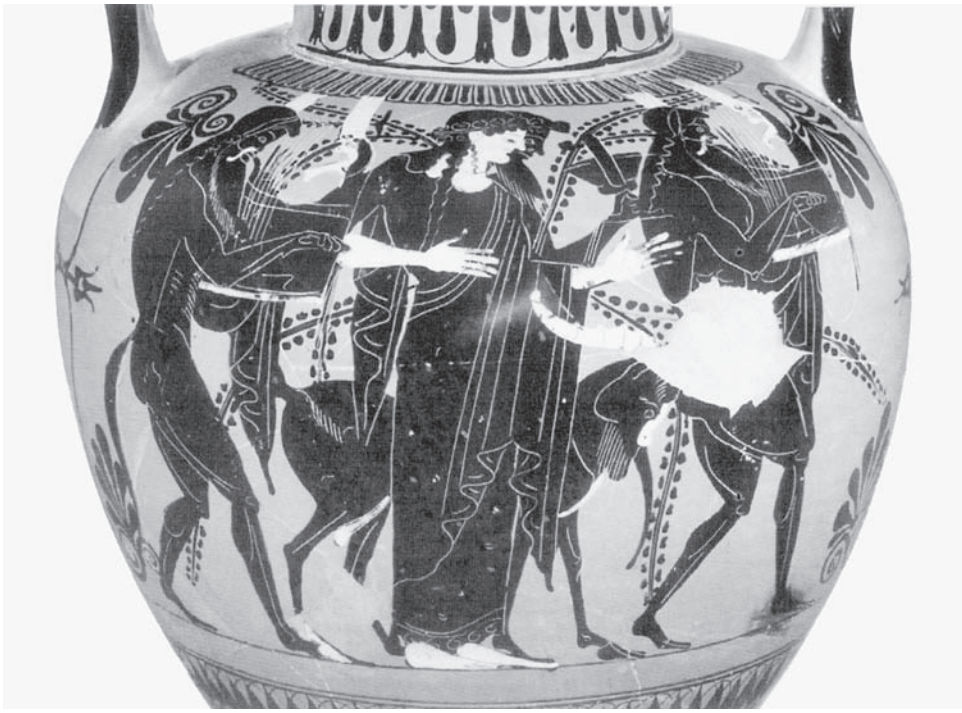
56. Amphora. Paris, Louvre F 5 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).



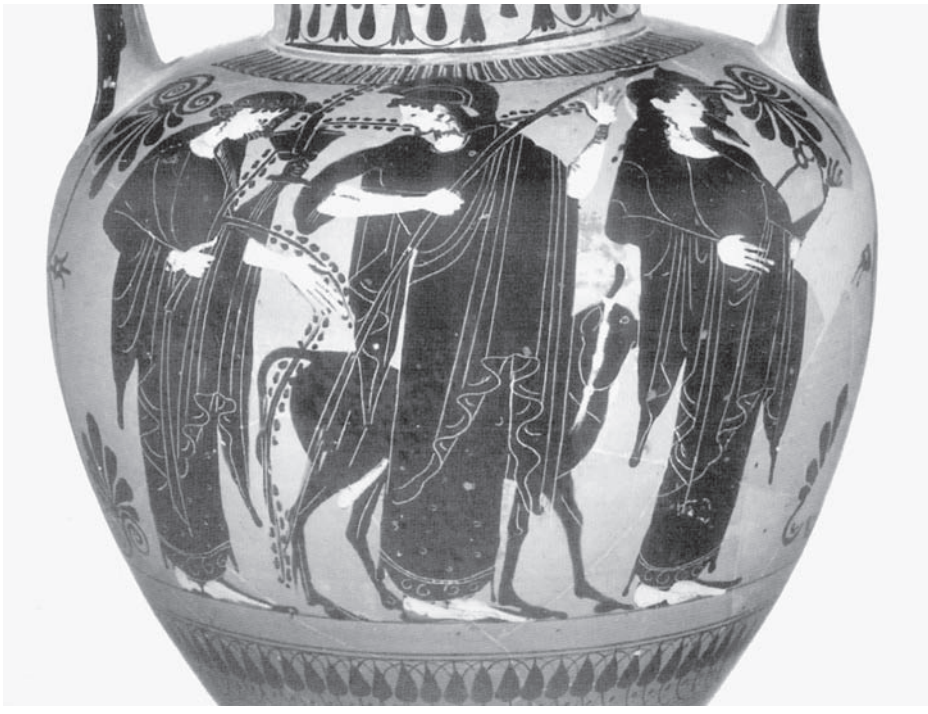
57. Amphora. Paris, Louvre F 5 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).



58. Amphora. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 76.40. Gift of Thomas G. Appleton (Photograph of the museum).



59. Amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1527 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 7262).



60. Amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1527 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 7264).

60a. Amphora. Tarquinia RC 2449 (Photograph Soprintendenza Archeologica Etruria Meridionale, Neg. n. 496)

←

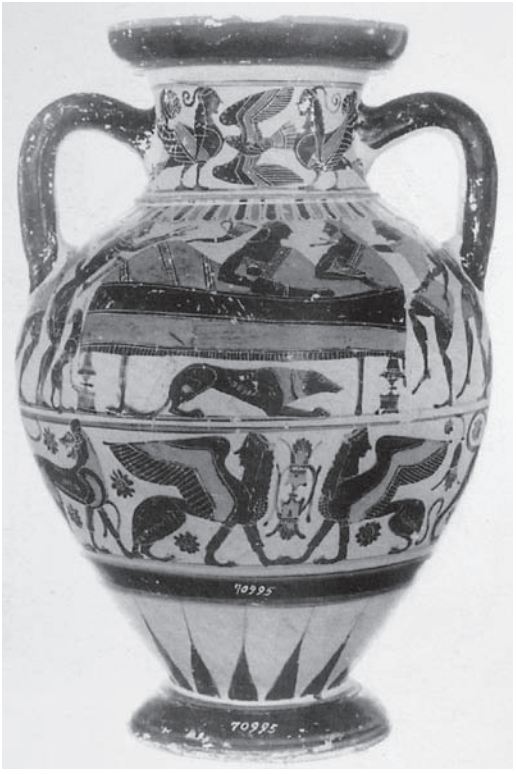
→

60b. Amphora. Vatican 359 (Photograph of the museum Neg. N. XXXIV.28.24/7)

←

60c. Amphora. Paris, Louvre F 226 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville)

61. Amphora by Lydos. Paris, Louvre Cp 10634 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).



62. Amphora by Lydos. Florence, Museo archeologico 70995 (Photograph of the museum).

63. Refresher-amphora by Lydos. London, British Museum 1848.6-19.5 (da Tiverios 1976 pl. 52a).

64. Amphora near Lydos. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig BS 424 (Photograph of the museum, D. Widmer). →

←

65. Refresher-oinochoe by Kolchos and Lydos. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 1732 (Photograph of the museum, Ingrid Geske).

→

66. Refresher-oinochoe by Kolchos and Lydos. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 1732 (Photograph of the museum, Ingrid Geske).

67. Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig Kä 420 (Photograph of the museum, Claire Niggli).

68. Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig Kä 420 (Photograph of the museum, Claire Niggli).

69. Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Formerly Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 3210 (Photograph of the museum).

70. Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 222 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché Bibl. Nat. de France, Paris).

71. Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 222 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché Bibl. Nat. de France, Paris).

72. Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8026. Henry Lillie Pierce Fund (Photograph of the museum).

73. Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Vatican, Guglielmi coll. 39518 (Foto Musei Vaticani).

74. Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 8763 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 2036).

75. Amphora by Exekias. London, British Museum 1836.2-24.127 (Photograph of the museum).

76. Amphora by the Swing Painter. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1877 (Photograph of the museum).

77. Amphora by the Swing Painter. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1877 (Photograph of the museum).

78. Amphora by the Swing Painter. Paris, Louvre F 227 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).

79. Amphora by the Swing Painter. Louvre F 227 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).

80. Amphora by the Affecter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8053 (Photograph of the museum).

81. Amphora by the Affecter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8053. Henry Lillie Pierce Fund (Photograph of the museum).

82. Amphora by the Affecter. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 18.145.15, Rogers Fund 1918 (Photograph of the museum).

83. Amphora by the Affecter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8052. Henry Lillie Pierce Fund (Photograph of the museum).

84. Amphora by the Affecter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8052. Henry Lillie Pierce Fund (Photograph of the museum).

85. Amphora by the Affecter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8052. Henry Lillie Pierce Fund (Photograph of the museum).

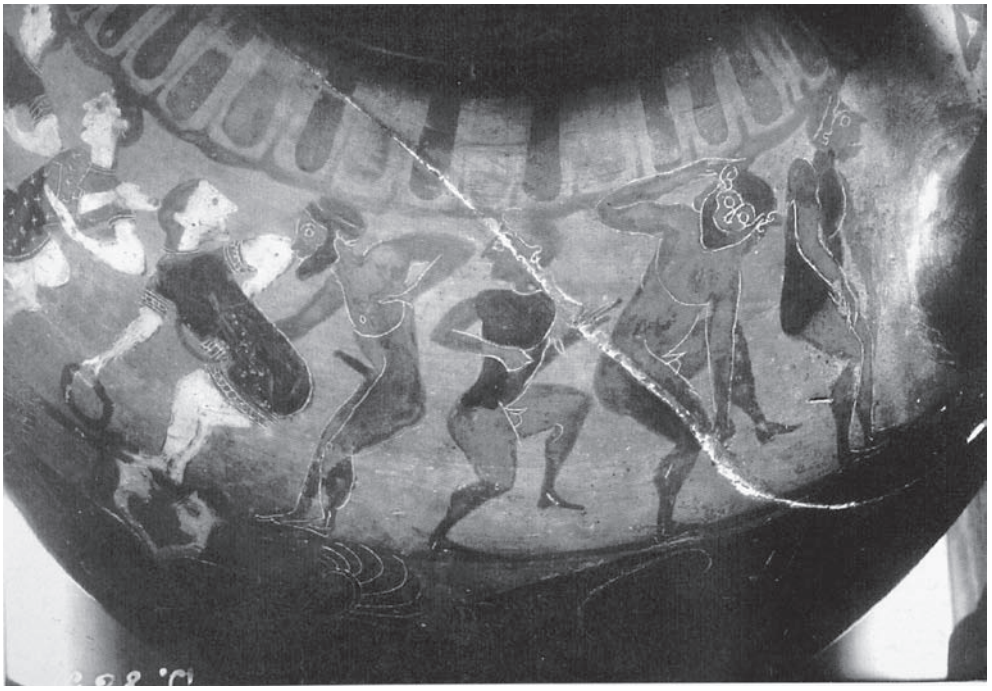
86. Tyrrhenian amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1431 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 2212).

87. Tyrrhenian amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1431 (Photograph of the museum).

88. Tyrrhenian amphora. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen Chr. VIII (323) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. D 868).

89. Tyrrhenian amphora. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen Chr. VIII (323) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. D 867).

90. Tyrrhenian amphora. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen Chr. VIII (323) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. D 866).



91. Tyrrhenian amphora. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen Chr. VIII (323) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. D 865).

92. Tyrrhenian amphora. Paris, Louvre E 860 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).

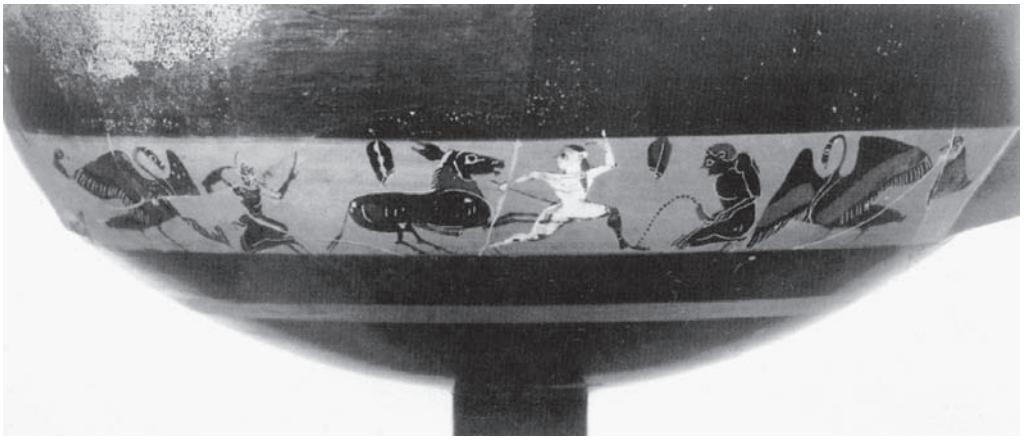
93. Tyrrhenian amphora. Paris, Louvre E 860 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).

94. Tyrrhenian amphora. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz F 1704 (Photograph of the museum, Ingrid Geske).

95. Amphora. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1562 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 2898).

96. Little Master cup. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2170 (Photograph of the museum).

97. Little Master cup. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2212 (Photograph of the museum).

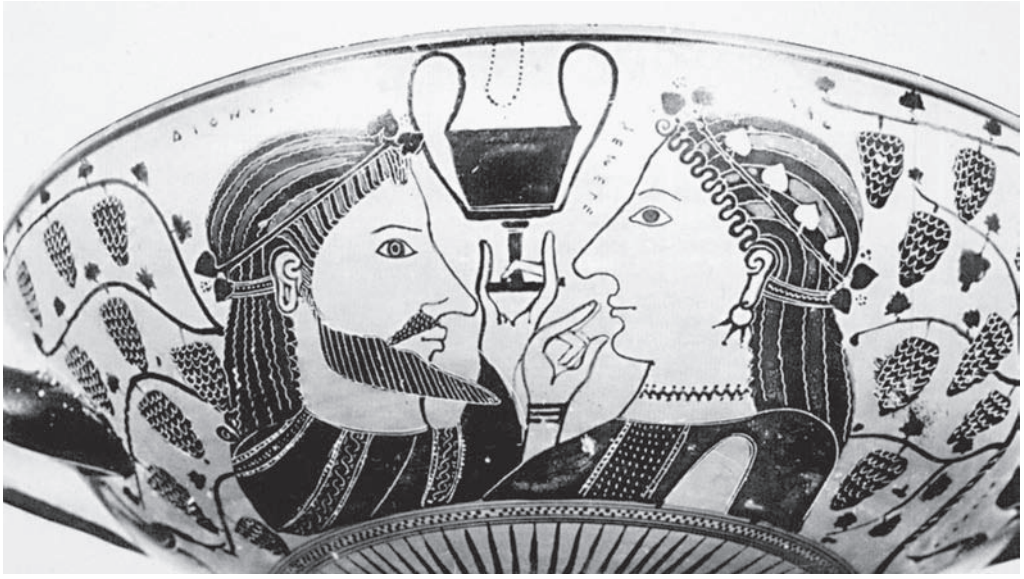


98. Little Master cup. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 7414 (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 1).

99. Little Master cup. London, British Museum B 425 (Hamdorf 1986, 83 fig. 45).

100. Little Master cup. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig Lu 18 (Photograph of the museum, Claire Niggli).

101. Little Master cup. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig Lu 18 (Photograph of the museum, Claire Niggli).



102. Cup by the Kallis Painter. Naples, Museo archeologico Stg. 172 (Photograph of the museum).

103. Cup by the Kallis Painter. Naples, Museo archeologico Stg. 172 (Photograph of the museum).

104. Cup by Exekias. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 8729 (2044) (Photograph of the museum).

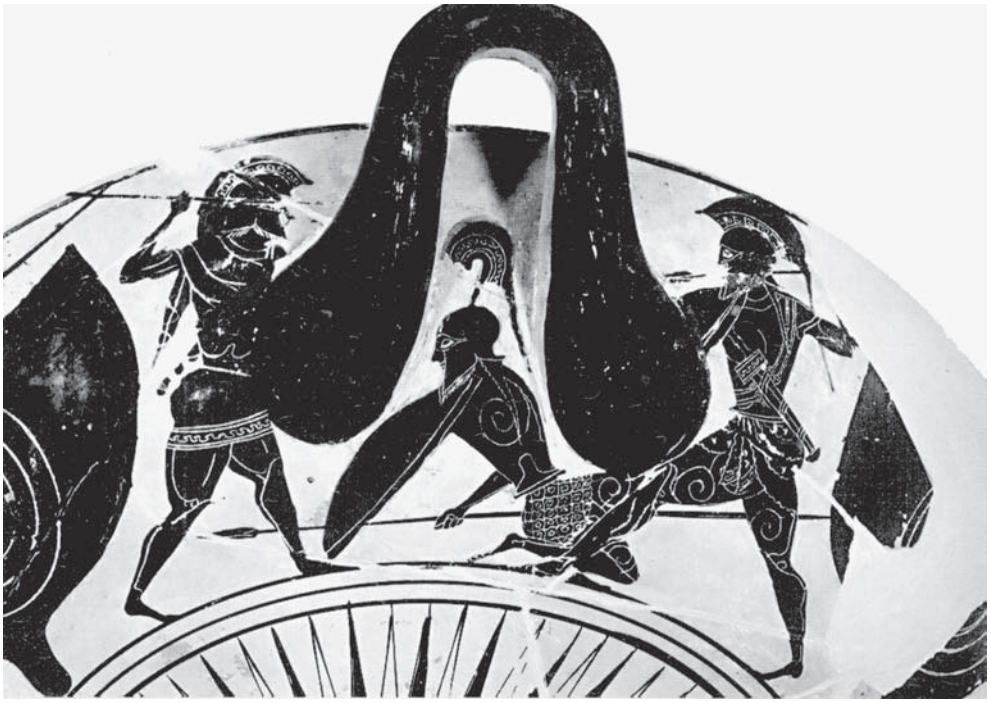
105. Cup by Exekias. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 8729 (2044) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. W 1444).

106. Cup by Exekias. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 8729 (2044) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. 2019).

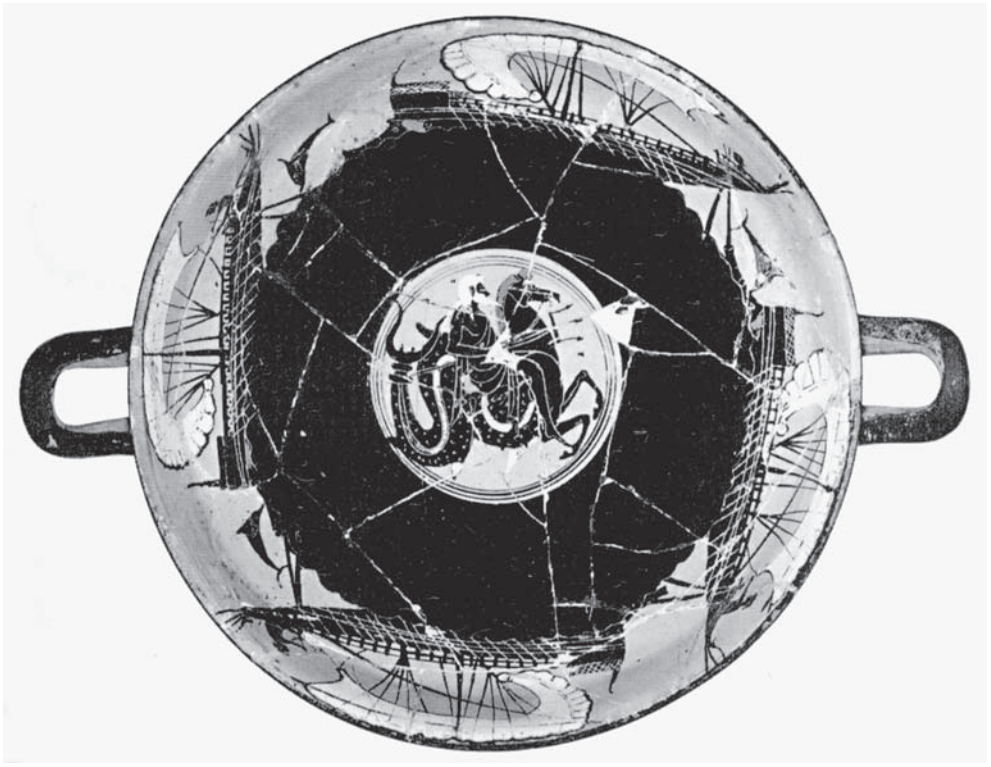
107. Cup by Exekias. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 8729 (2044) (Photograph of the museum, Neg. KM 2018).

108. Eye cup. Paris, Louvre F 130 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).

109. Eye cup. Paris, Louvre F 130 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).



110. Eye cup. Paris, Louvre F 130 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).



111. Cup. Paris, Paris, Louvre F 145 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).

112. Cup. Paris, Louvre F 145 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).

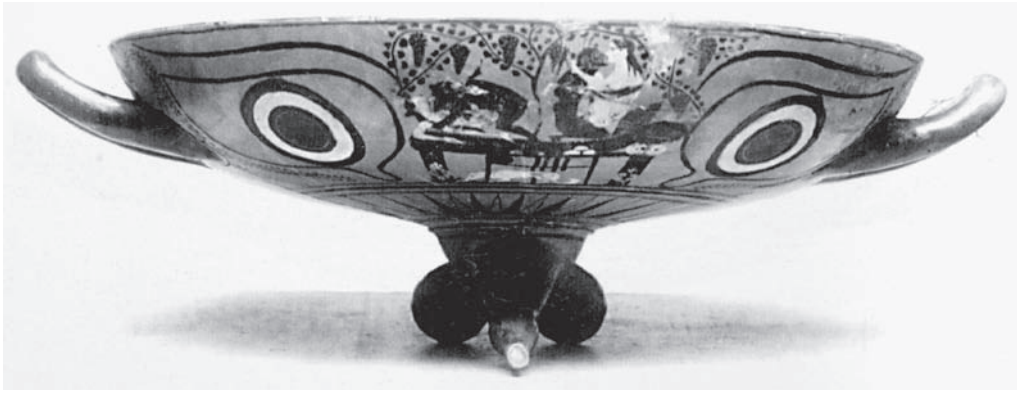
113. Siana Cup. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia 64608 (Photograph of the museum).

114. Eye cup. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia 773 (Photograph of the museum).

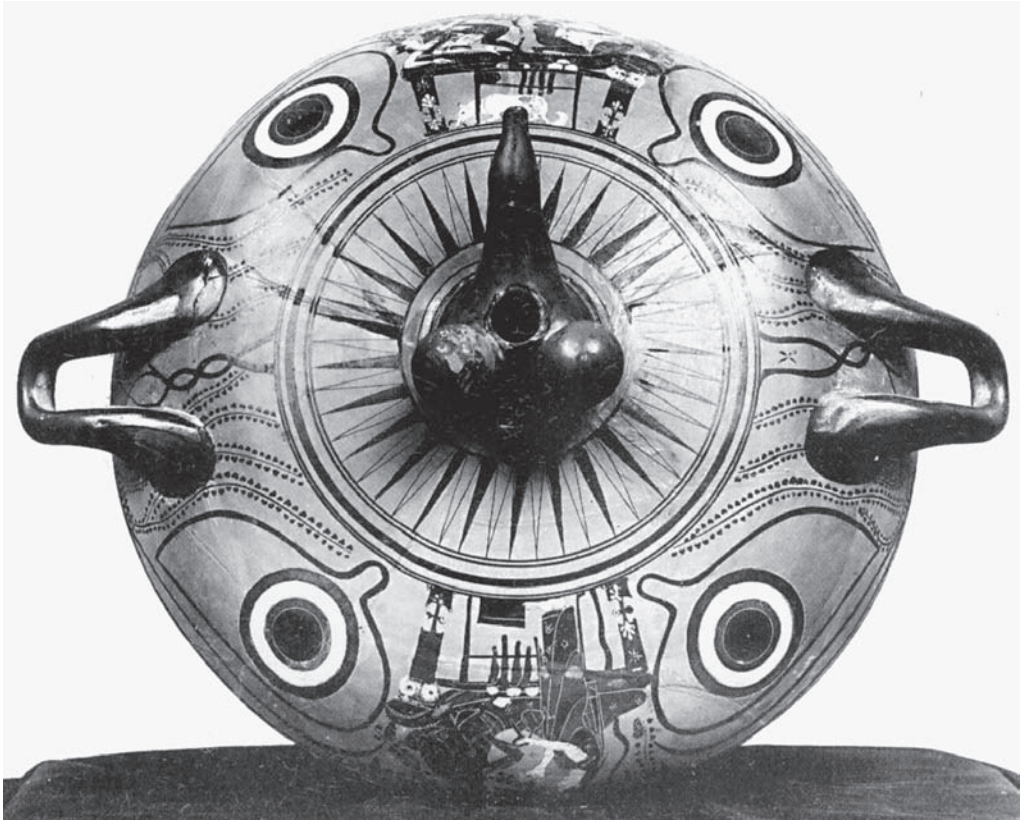
115. Eye cup. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia 773 (Photograph of the museum).

116. Cup by the Amasis Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.651. Gift of Edward Perry Warren (Photograph of the museum).

117. Cup by the Amasis Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.651. Gift of Edward Perry Warren (Photograph of the museum).



118. Phallic Cup. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz F 2052 (Photograph of the museum).



119. Phallic Cup. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz F 2052 (Photograph of the museum).

120. Phallic Cup. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz F 2052 (Photograph of the museum).

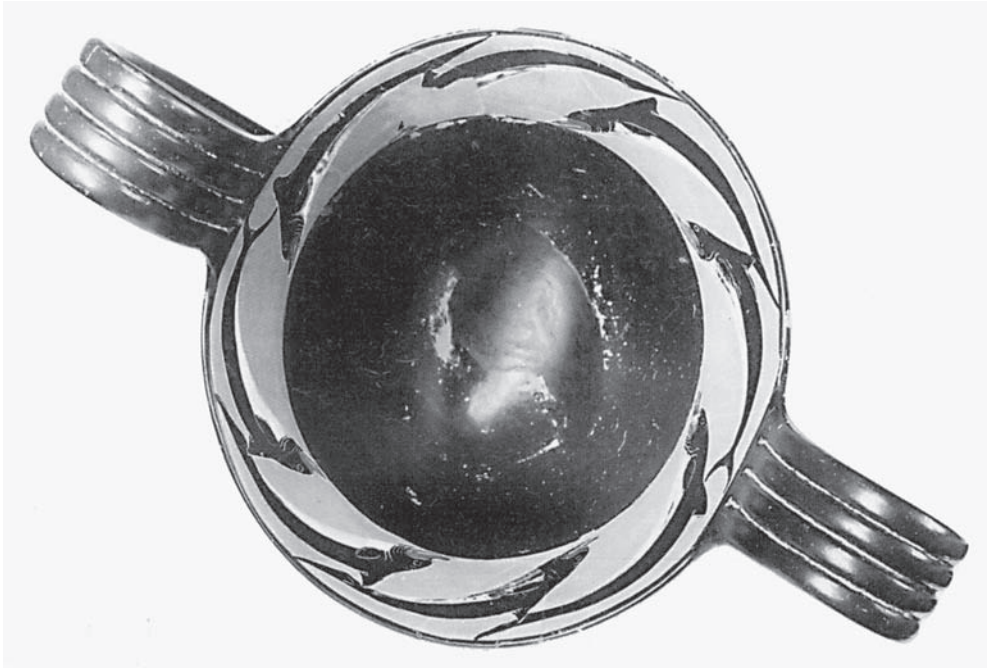
121. Aryballos by the Amasis Painter. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 62.11.11. Rogers Fund, 1962 (Photograph of the museum).

122. Aryballos by Nearchos. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.49 Purchase, The Cesnola Collection, by exchange, 1926 (Photograph of the museum).

123. Aryballos by Nearchos. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.49. Purchase, The Cesnola Collection, by exchange, 1926 (AJA 36, 1932, pl. XIc).

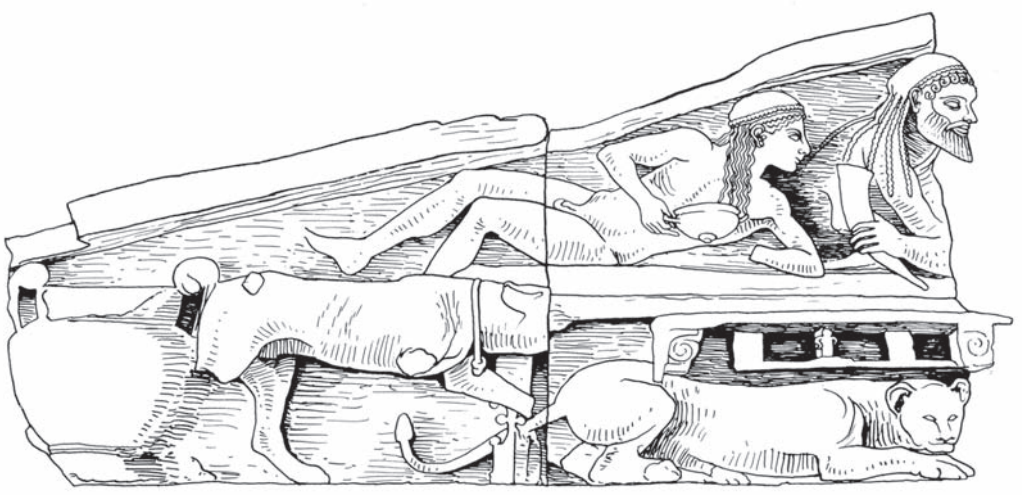
124. Mastos. Würzburg, Martin v. Wagner Museum der Universität L 391 (Photograph of the museum).

125. Ionian head-kantharos. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2014 (Photograph of the museum).



126. Ionian head-kantharos. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2014 (Photograph of the museum).

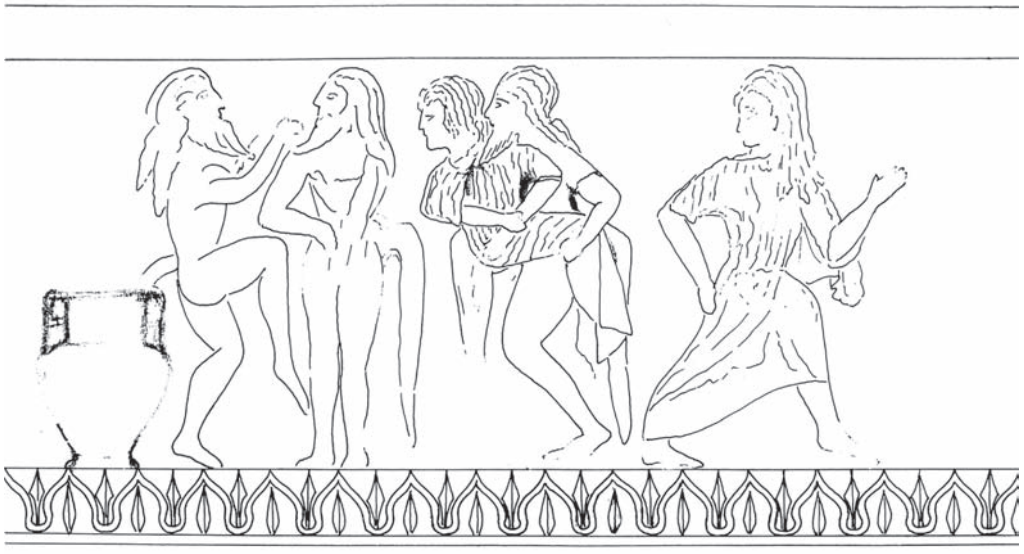
127. Chalcidian eye cup. Paris, Louvre F 144 (Photograph of the museum, Cliché M. and P. Chuzeville).



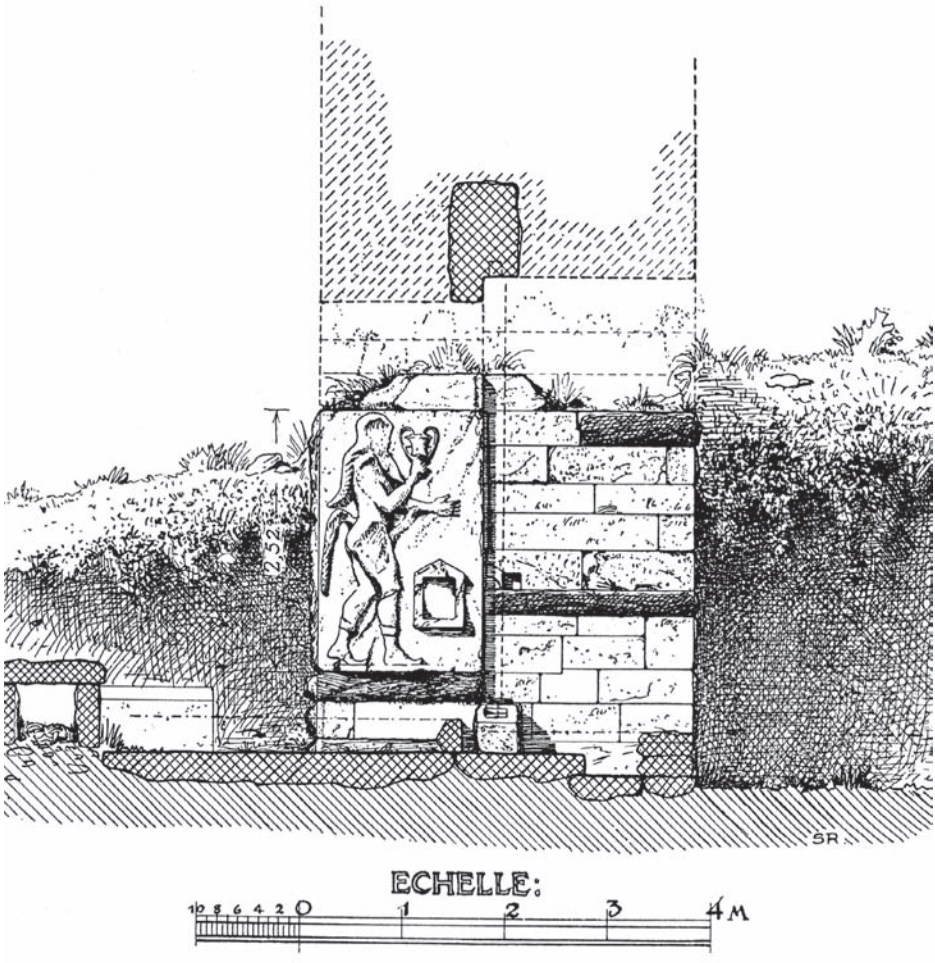
128. Fragment of a pediment in Corfu (Boardman 1978, fig. 207a).

129. Unfinished statue of Dionysos in Naxos (Gruben 1997, 296 fig. 16).

130. Fragment of a pediment in Athens (Heberdey 1919, 76 fig. 53).



131. Polos of the caryatid of the Siphnian treasury in Delphi (Themelis 1992, 57 fig. 5).



132. Relief showing a satyr in Thasos (Picard 1962, pl. XIII).

133. Hero relief from Sparta. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 731 (Photograph of the museum).